

4

THE
CREDIBILITY
OF THE
GOSPEL HISTORY.

PART II.

2.L.C.

OR THE
PRINCIPAL FACTS
OF THE
NEW TESTAMENT

Confirmed by Passages of ancient Authors, who were
contemporary with our SAVIOUR, or his APO-
STLES, or lived near their Time.

VOL. II.

Containing the History of the Remainder of the Chris-
tian Writers of the second Century, and their Testi-
mony to the Books of the NEW TESTAMENT.

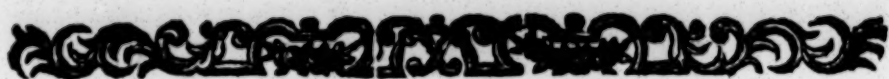
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M DCC XLVIII.





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T H E



THE
PRINCIPAL FACTS
OF THE
NEW TESTAMENT
CONFIRMED, &c.

BOOK I.

CHAP. XIX.

MILTIADES.



MILTIADES flourished *A. D.*
according to *Cave* (*a*) in the ^{180.}
beginning of the reign of
Commodus, about the year
180: from whom *Du Pin*
(*b*) does not much differ, who says he
flourished under the Emperour *Commodus*.

F f

We

(*a*) *Hist. Lit.*

(*b*) *Bibl. Miltiadess*

A. D. 108. We have no certain marks of his age. It is very probable, his *Apologie* (of which we shall speak presently) was writ in the later part of the reign of *M. Antonine*, or the begining of that of *Commodus*. I proceed to the testimonies of the ancients.

Miltiades is called by *Tertullian* (c) the *Sophist of the Churches*: by which I see no reason to understand him to say, that *Miltiades* was a Rhetorician, and taught that science, but only that he was a learned and elegant Christian Writer. *Tertullian* places *Miltiades* between *Justin Martyr* and *Irenaeus*: which affords a very good hint for settling his time in general, though not exactly. And it is upon the ground of this passage chiefly, that *Tillemont* (d) concludes, *Miltiades* had appeared in the world before the midle of the second centurie, and died in the time of *Commodus*.

Eusebe (e) having mentioned a treatise of *Miltiades*, writen against the *Montanists*, with this title, *That it does not become Prophets to speak*

(c) Ut Justinus Philosophus et Martyr, ut Miltiades Ecclesiarum Sophista, ut *Irenaeus*, &c. *Advers. Valent.* cap. v.

(d) *Mem. E. T.* 3. P. 1. *Miltiade*.

(e) *H. E. L.* v. c. 17.

speaking in exstasie, adds: “ And (f) beside A. D.
180.
‘ that work, *Miltiades* has left us other mo-
‘ numents of his zeal for the Divine Oracles,
‘ as well in his writings against the *Gentils*,
‘ as against the *Jews*: for he wrote against
‘ both distinctly in two treatises. Moreover
‘ (g) he made an Apologie to the Princes
‘ of this world for the Philosophie which
‘ he followed:” that is, for the Christian Religion.

Learned men are not agreed about the meaning of the words, *Princes of this world*. *Valesius* (h), who supposes the Apologie was writ in the time of *Commodus*, when there was but one Emperour, understands them of the Governours of Provinces, which meaning the words will well bear. Others (i) understand thereby the Roman Emperours, which they suppose to have been either *M. Antonine* and *Lucius*, or *M. Antonine* and his son *Commodus*.

St. *Jerome*, in his book of (k) *Illustrious Men*, having recited the titles of this writer's

F f 2

works,

(f) Καὶ ἄλλας ἡμῖν τῆς ἰδίας περὶ τὰ θεῶν λόγια σπεδῆς μνήμας καταλέλοιπεν. Ibid.

(g) Ἐτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς κοσμικὰς ἀρχοντας, ὑπὲρ ἧς μετῆς φιλοφίας, πεποικέναι ἀπολογίαν. Ibid.

(h) Vid. Annot. ad Euf. loc.

(i) Vid. Dodwell. Diss. Iren. iv. §. 33.

(k) Cap. 39.

A. D. works, says, he flourished in the time of

180.

M. Antoninus Commodus.

Scriptures.

We have nothing to observe at present upon these works, except what *Eusebe* says of the monuments of his zeal for the Divine Oracles in his books against both *Jews* and *Gentils*. It is very likely, here were many valuable testimonies concerning the books of the New, as well as the Old Testament. But we can only lament our losse of them.

However, it may not be improper to add another passage of St. *Jerome*: where having observed, that *Miltiades* (l) wrote an excellent book against the *Gentils*; he proceeds to mention *Hippolytus*, *Africanus*, and divers other Christian Writers, and then concludes: “ The writings of all these persons are so full of passages of the Philosophers and their sentiments, that it is not easie to say, which ought to be most admired in them; whether their polite literature, or their knowledge of the Scriptures.”

(l) Scripsit et Miltiades contra Gentes volumen egregium. Qui omnes in tantum Philosophorum doctrinis atque sententiis suos refarciunt libros, ut nescias, quid in illis primum admirari debeas, eruditionem seculi, an scientiam scripturarum. Ad *Magnum* Orat. Ep. 83. al. 84.



CHAP. XX.

THEOPHILUS of *Antioch*.

THEOPHILUS, Bishop of *Antioch*, ^{A. D. 181.}
was originally a Heathen, as he (a) has informed us himself. His works shew him to have been well acquainted with the *Greek* learning. He succeeded *Eros* in (b) the eighth year of *Marc Antonine*, of our Lord 168.

There is nothing remaining that can be depended on as his, beside three books to *Autolycus*, a learned (c) and studious Heathen, who had provoked *Theophilus* by frequent discourses, if not also by writing, to make a defense of the Christian Religion. These books were not finished, as is evident from (d) divers passages of them, untill after the death of the fore-mentioned Emperour. It

F f 3

is

(a) *Ad Autol.* L. i. p. 78. C. D. *Parif.*

(b) *Vid. Euseb. Chron.*

(c) *Ad Aut.* L. i. p. 69. A. B. l. 2. p. 116. C. D. l. 3. p. 119. A. B. 138. D.

(d) p. 137. 138.

A. D. ^{181.} is the (e) general opinion, that they were writ by *Theophilus* a little before his own death, in the begining of the reign of *Commodus*, A. D. 181.

Dodwell (f) indeed was willing to suppose, that *Theophilus*, author of these books to *Autolycus*, was another *Theophilus*, different from the sixth Bishop of *Antioch*, and that he wrote these books in the reign of *Severus* about the year 203. But this supposition has been well confuted by several (g) learned men: and every one may perceive, how contrarie it is to the ancient testimonies concerning this Bishop of *Antioch*: which I shall now put down, because they will not only determine his age, but also give us an account of his works, and his respect for the writings of the New Testament.

Eusebe (h) says, “*Theophilus* was the sixth Bishop of *Antioch* after the Apostles.” His order is this: *Euodius*, *Ignatius*, *Heros*, *Cornelius*, *Eros*, *Theophilus*.

In another (i) place: “There are, says
‘*Eusebe*,

(e) Vid. *Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 91. 92.*

(f) Vid. *Pearson op. Post. p. 11. 12.*

(g) *Tillemont. Memoires. T. 3. P. 1. Theophile. Not. 2. Basnage Ann. 188. §. 5. 6. Cave Hist. Lit. P. 2. p. 31.*

(h) *H. E. l. iv. c. 20.*

(i) *Ibid. cap. 24.*

‘ *Eusebe*, three books of *Theophilus* Bishop A. D.
181.
‘ of *Antioch* to *Autolycus*, containing the ele-
‘ ments of religion. There is another book
‘ of his against the heresie of *Hermogenes*,
‘ in (k) which he has made use of testimo-
‘ nies from *John*’s Apocalypse. There are
‘ also other books of his concerning the rudi-
‘ ments of our religion.—” He likewise
mentions another book of his against *Marcion*, which he says is well writ, and was then extant, as well as the other before-men-
tioned.

St. *Jerome* in his (l) book of *Illustrious Men*, agreeably to *Eusebe*, says: “ *Theophi-*
‘ *lus*, the sixth Bishop of the church of *Antioch*, in the reign of *Marc Antonine* com-
‘ posed a book against *Marcion*, which is still
‘ extant. His three volumes to *Autolycus*
‘ are also in being, and one book against the
‘ heresie of *Hermogenes*, and other short
‘ and elegant treatises conducive to the edifi-
‘ cation of the church. I have (m) read
‘ some Commentaries upon the Gospel, and

F f 4

‘ the

(k) Ἐν ᾧ ἐκ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου κέχρηται μαρτυρίαις.

(l) Cap. 25.

(m) Legi sub nomine ejus in Evangelium, et in proverbialia Salomonis commentarios; qui mihi cum superiorum volumina elegantia et phrasi non videntur congruere.

A. D. 181. *the Proverbs of Solomon, which go under his name, but they do not appear to me to answer the stile and elegance of the fore-mentioned writings."*

In his preface (n) to St. *Matthew*, *Jerome* says again: "I have also read the Commentaries of *Theophilus* Bishop of *Antioch*."

In another place: "*Theophilus* (A) the seventh Bishop of the church of *Antioch* after *Peter*, who (o) collecting into one work the words of the four Evangelists, speaks thus in his Commentaries upon this parable: [Luke xvi. 1.—14.] *The rich man who had a steward is God Almighty, than whom no one is richer. His steward is Paul, who learned the holy scriptures at the feet of Gamaliel, and had received the law of God to manage. Who when he had begun*

Acts xxii.
3.

(n) Et Theophili Antiochenae urbis episcopi commentarios. *Prol. in Comm. sup Matth.*

(A) Here he counts *Peter* for the first Bishop.

(o) — Qui quatuor Evangelistarum in unum opus dicta compingens ingenii sui nobis monumenta dimisit, haec super hac parbola in suis commentariis est locutus: Dives qui habebat villicum, sive dispensatorem, Deus omnipotens est, quo nihil ditius. Hujus dispensator est Paulus, qui ad pedes Gamalielis sacras litteras didicit, et legem Dei susceperat dispensandam. Qui quum coepisset credentes in Christo persequi, ligare, occidere, et omnem domini sui dissipare substantiam, correptus a Domino est: Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris? Durum est tibi contra stimulum calcitrare. *Hieron. ep. 151. Algasiae. Qu. vi.*

‘gun to persecute, bind, kill, those that be-
 ‘lied in Christ, and to waste all his Lord’s
 ‘substance, was called to an account by the
 ‘Lord: Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? Ch. ix. 4.
 ‘It is hard for thee, to kick against the
 ‘pricks.” I shall not transcribe any more of
 this passage: only it ought to be observed,
 that afterwards some words of *Philip*. iii. 8.
 are there adapted and put into the mouth of
Paul.

There are still remaining short (*p*) *Com-
 mentaries*, or *allegories*, upon the four holy
Gospels, in four books, which go under the
 name of our *Theophilus*. But they are now
 allowed (*q*) to be the work of a much later
 writer. And whether those *Commentaries*,
 which *St. Jerome* quotes, were really com-
 posed by *Theophilus*, may be doubted; since
 they were unknown to *Eusebe*, and were ob-
 served by *Jerome* to differ in stile and ex-
 pression from his other works. However if
 they are not his, they were the work of some
 Anonymous ancient.

I now proceed to represent the quotations
 and allusions to the books of the New Te-
 stament,

(*p*) Apud Biblioth. Maxim. Patr. *Lugd.* T. 2. p. 166, &c.

(*q*) Vid. *Tillem.* ubi sup. Not. 1. *Fabr.* Bib. Gr. Vol.
 V. p. 93. 94.

A. D. 181. *stament, which are in his remaining, and undoubtedly genuine books to Autolycus.*

Matth. I. Having recited many precepts of piety and virtue from the Old Testament, he says:
 “ But (r) the Evangelic voice teaches chastity in yet greater perfection: *Whosoever looks on another man's wife, to lust after her, has committed adulterie with her already in his heart. And whosoever puteth away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adulterie.* But the Gospel (s) says: *Love your enemies, and pray for them that despitefully use you. For if ye love them that love you, what reward have ye? Even robbers and publicans do the same. And it teaches those that do good, not to boast:*
 Ver. 44. *For, says he, Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth.*”

N. T.

Theophilus.

Luke.

II. Luke xviii. 27. II. For the things,
And he said: The (t) (u) which with men things which are im- are impossible, are possible

(r) Ἡ δὲ εὐαγγέλιος φωνὴ ἐπιπλεονέστερον διδάσκει περὶ ἀγνείας, λέγουσα Lib. iii. p. 126. A.

(s) Τὸ δὲ εὐαγγέλιον, ἀγαπάτε, φησὶ, τὰς ἐχθρὰς. ibid. B. C.

(t) Τὰ ἀδύνατα παρὰ ἀνθρώποις, δυνατά ἐσι παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

(u) Τὰ γὰρ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἀδύνατα, δυνατά ἐσι παρὰ Θεοῦ. l. 2. p. 92. B.

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possible with men, are sible with God.
possible with God.

A. D.

181.

The same sense is in *Matth. xix. 26. Mark x. 27.* But the words of *Theophilus* agree best with *St. Luke.*

N. T.

Theophilus.

III. Luke xx. 35.

III. For God has *Luke.*

36. But they which shall be accounted worthie to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage. Neither can they die any more: for they are equal to the angels, and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection.

given us a law and holy precepts: which he that does may be saved, and (x) obtaining a resurrection may inherit incorruption.

It seems to me somewhat likely, that he alludes to the words of *St. Luke* in the opposite column,

IV. Luke xxiv.

IV. That this

47. And (y) that repentance and remission

might be a sign, that (z) men should re-

of

(x) Καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τυχεῖν κληρονομήσαι τὴν ἀθάνατον.
p. 104. A. L. ii.

(y) — Καὶ κηρυχθῆναι—
μετάνοιαν καὶ ἄρεσιν ἀμαρτιῶν.

(z) Ὅπως ἢ καὶ τὸτο εἰς
δείγμα τῷ μέλλειν λαμβά-
νειν

A. D. of sins should be receive repentance and
 181. *preached in his name.* remission of sins
 through water.
 See hereafter numb.
 XXIV.

John. V. " These things (a) the holy scriptures
 ' teach us, and all who were moved by the
John i. 1. ' Holy Spirit, among whom *John* says: *In*
 ' the begining was the Word, and the Word
 ' was with God. Shewing, that at the first God
 ' was alone, and in him was the Word. Then
Ver. 3. ' he says: *And the Word was God. All*
 ' things were made by him, and without him
 ' was not any thing made."

Acts. VI. *Theophilus* says: " The (b) Prophets
 ' have taught us to abstain from abominable
 ' idolatrie and adulterie, and murder, for-
 ' nication, theft, covetousnesse, swearing, ly-
 ' ing, anger, and all lasciviousnesse and im-
 ' purity :

νεῖν τὰς ἀνθρώπους μετάνοιαν καὶ
 ἀφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν διὰ ὕδατος.
 κ. λ. l. 2. p. 95. B.

(a) Ὅθεν διδάσκουσιν ἡμᾶς αἱ ἁγίαὶ γραφαί, καὶ πάντες οἱ
 πνευματοφόροι, ἐξ ὧν Ἰωάννης, λέγει ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος· καὶ
 ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν· δεικνύς ὅτι ἐν πρῶτοις μόνος ἦν ὁ
 Θεός, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ λόγος· ἔπειτα λέγει. κ. λ. p. 100. C.

(b) Οἱ καὶ ἐδίδασκαν ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀδεμίτης εἰδωλολα-
 τρίας, καὶ μοιχείας, καὶ φόνου, πορνείας, κλοπῆς, φιλαργυρίας,
 ὅρκου, φευδῆς, ὀργῆς, καὶ πάσης ἀσελγείας, καὶ ἀκαθαρσίας· καὶ
 πάντα ὅσα οὐ μὴ βέλῃται ἀνθρώπος ἐαυτῷ γίνεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ ἐ-
 ἀλλῶ ποιῇ. l. 2. p. 110. C.

‘purity: and that whatever things a man
‘would not have done to himself, those nei-
‘ther should he do to another.’

A. D.
181.

I should not have put down this passage here, if *Mill* (c) had not supposed, that in this place *Theophilus* refers to *Acts* xv. 20. which, it seems, in some manuscripts, and some ancient Fathers, is read with an additional clause to this purpose: *But that we write to them to abstain from pollutions of idols, and from fornication, and from things strangled, and from bloud. And that (d) whatever things they would not have done to themselves, they do not do to others.* *Mill* allowes, (and in my opinion justly) that this last clause is an interpolation. But admitting it to be genuine, there could be, I think, but slender ground for supposing, that *Theophilus* referred to this text: the like precept being recorded in some other texts of the New Testament, and represented there as the doctrine, or substance of the Law and the Prophets, (agreeably to what *Theophilus* here writes) much more distinctly than in this place

(c) Fallor an huc respexerit Theophilus Antiochenus, Προφηται, inquit, ἐδίδαξαν ἀπέχεσθαι, κ. λ. *Mill.* N. T. ad *Act.* xv. 20.

(d) Καὶ ὅσα ἂν μὴ θέλωσιν ἑαυτοῖς γίνεσθαι, ἑτέροις μὴ ποιεῖν. Vid. *Mill.* *ibid.*

A. D. place of the *Acts*: as *Matth.* vii. 12. See
 181. likewise xxii. 40. and *Luke* vi. 31. And the
 foregoing part of the passage of *Theophilus* has
 but little agreement with the 20. ver. of the
 xv. chapter of the *Acts*, as in our copies.
 But all this is submitted to the consideration
 of others.

1 Pet. I would only add, that two of the most re-
 markable expressions of this passage of *Theo-*
philus are found in *1 Pet.* iv. 3. *For the time*
past of our life may suffice us, to have wrought
the will of the Gentils: when we walked in
 (e) LASCIVIOUSNESSE, lusts . . . and ABO-
 MINABLE IDOLATRIES.

Acts. VII. He says likewise: " For (f) God,
 ' the Father and Former of all things, has
 ' not forsaken the human nature, but gave
 ' the Law and sent the Holy Prophets for to
 ' declare and shew the human kind, that
 ' every one of us might awake and acknow-
 ' ledge, that there is one God."

These words immediatly precede the pas-
 sage last transcribed. And they are likewise pre-
 ceded

(e) Ἐν ἀσελγείαις, . . . καὶ ἀθεμίταις εἰδωλολατρείαις.

(f) Ὁ μὲν τοι γε Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ καὶ κτίστης τῶν ὅλων, καὶ ἐγκατέλιπε τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, ἀλλὰ ἔδωκεν νόμον, καὶ ἐπέμψεν προφῆτας ἁγίους, πρὸς τὸ καθαγέειν καὶ δάξαι τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, εἰς τὸ ἕνα ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἀναγῆναι, καὶ ἐπιγνώ-
 ναι, ὅτι ἓς ἐστὶ Θεός. p. 110. C.

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ceded by the words, which will be found at ^{A. D.} numb. XXVIII. They are here put down, ^{181.} that it may be considered, whether there be in them any reference to *Acts* xiv. 15. 16. 17.—and preach unto you, that ye should turn from these vanities unto the Living God, which made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all things that are therein. Who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways. Nevertheless he left not himself without witnesse, in that he did good, and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons or, to *Acts* xvii. 27. That they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us.

N. T.

Theophilus.

VIII. *Acts* xvii.

VIII. He says of *Acts*.

25. Neither is worshiped with mens hands, as though (g) he needed any thing.

God, that he needeth (b) nothing. But this is so obvious a character of the Creator, that

28. For

(g) Προσδεόμενός τινος.

(b) Ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τό-
πῳ ὧν καὶ ἀνενδεής ὢν, καὶ
ὑπερέχων πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων,
ἠθέλησεν ἀνθρώπον ποιῆσαι ὃν
γνώσῃ . . . ὁ γὰρ γενητὸς καὶ
προσδεής ἐστίν· ὁ δὲ ἀγέννητος
καὶ ἀενδὴς προσδεΐται. Lib. ii.
p. 83. B.

A. D.

181.

28. *For in him we live, and move, and have our being.*

I think, it cannot be hence concluded, that he referred to *Paul's* discourse at *Athens*. He likewise says of God, that *he is his own place*.

Romans.

IX. Rom. ii. 6. 7.

8. 9. *Who will render to every man according to his deeds. To them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, eternal life. But unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doth evil.*

IX. He will (i) search out all things, and judge justly, rendering to all according to the desert of their actions. *To them that by patient continuance in well-doing seek for immortality he will give eternal life, joy, peace, rest, and many good things, which neither eye hath seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man. But to the unbelieving, and the despisers, and them that*

(i) L. ii. p. 79. B. C.

that obey not the truth, ^{A. D. 181.}
 but obey unrighteous-
 nesse, shall be
 wrath and indigna-
 tion, tribulation and
 anguish. And in a
 word, eternal fire
 shall be the portion of
 such.

X. Rom. xiii. 7. 8.
*Render therefore to
 all their dues, tribute
 to whom tribute is
 due, custom to whom
 custom, fear to whom
 fear, honour to whom
 honour. Owe no man
 any thing, but to love
 one another.*

X. And it [*the di-* ^{Romans.}
vine word] teacheth
 (k) us to render to all
 all things: honour to
 whom honour, fear to
 whom fear, tribute to
 whom tribute: to owe
 no man any thing, but
 only to love all men.

These, with many other passages, afford
 full proof, that the ancient Christian writers
 often quoted, or alluded to texts of the N. T.
 by memorie, without looking into the books
 themselves.

There are, beside these, some other allu-

G g

sions

(k) Lib. 3. p. 126. C.

A. D. fions (l) to words of the epistle to the Ro-
 181. mans : but here is enough to shew, that epi-
 stle was well known to *Theophilus*.

N. T.

Theophilus.

1 Corinth.

XI. 1 Cor. ii. 7.

For we speak the wis-
 dom of God in a mys-
 terie, even the hidden
 wisdom, which God
 ordained before the
 world to our glorie.
 8. Which none of the
 princes of this world
 knew. 10. But God
 has revealed them un-
 to us by his Spirit :
 for (m) the Spirit
 searcheth all things,
 yea the deep things of
 God. 11. even
 so the things of God

XI. Whence it is
 manifest, that all o-
 thers are in errour,
 and that Christians
 only have attained
 to the truth. For
 we are taught of the
 Holy Spirit, who
 spoke in the holy
 Prophets, and fore-
 told all things. It
 (n) remains therefore,
 for you with a good
 disposition to search
 the things of God, I
 mean the things spo-
 ken by the Prophets :
knoweth

(l) Thus, when *Theophilus* tells *Autolyus*, that if he does not believe there will be a resurrection, 'till he sees it, " his faith will be counted for unbelief." Καὶ ἡ πίστις σου εἰς ἀπί-
 στίαν λογισθήσεται. p. 74. C. it cannot be doubted, but he alludes to St. Paul's argument and words. Rom. iv. 3. 5.

(m) Τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα πάντα
 ἐρευνᾷ, καὶ τὰ βάθη τῆς Θεᾶς
 ἔγνω καὶ τὰ τῆς Θεᾶς ἑδρῆς
 οἶδεν. κ. λ.

(n) Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔγω σοι
 φιλοφρόνων ἐρευνᾷν τὰ τῆς Θεᾶς
 Lib. ii. p. 110. A.

*knoweth no man, but
the Spirit of God.*

that comparing the ^{A. D.}
things said by you, ^{181.}
[perhaps it should be
us] and by others,
you may find the
truth.

XII. 1 Cor. vi. 9.
10. 11. *Be not deceiv-
ed: neither fornicators,
nor idolaters, nor adul-
terers, nor effeminate,
nor abusers of them-
selves with mankind.
Nor thieves, nor cove-
tous, nor drunkards,
nor revilers, nor ex-
tortioners shall inherit
the kingdom of God.
And such were some
of you: But ye are
washed, &c.*

XII. Let me (o)
see therefore, whether
you are not an adul-
terer, or a fornicator,
or a thief, or an ex-
tortioner, — or one
that abuseth himself
with mankind, or a
reviler. — For to
those who do such
things God manifests
not himself, unless
they first purify them-
selves from every de-
filement.

XIII. 1 Cor. xv.
36. 37.—*That which
thou sowest is not
quickened, unless it dye.*

XIII. Is there not
a resurrection of seeds
and fruits, and that
for the use of men?

G g 2

And

A. D. *And that which thou*
 181. *sowest, thou sowest not*
that body that shall be,
but (p) bare grain, it
may chance of wheat,
or of some other grain.

For (q) instance a grain
of wheat, or of other
seeds, when it is cast
into the earth, first
dies and is dissolved,
then it rises, and be-
comes a stalk.

2 Cor.

XIV. 2 Cor. v. 4.
Not (r) that we would
be unclothed, but cloth-
ed upon, that morta-
lity might be swallow-
ed up of life.

XIV. Then will
 you understand these
 things, when (s) you
 shall have laid aside
 this mortal, [or this
 mortality,] and put on
 incorruption.

XV. 2 Cor. xi. 19.
For (t) ye suffer fools
gladly, seeing ye your-
selves are wise.

XV. For seeing
 you (u) yourself are
 wise, you may suffer
 simple people glad-
 ly.

XVI.

(p) Ἀλλὰ γυμνὸν κόκκον,
 εἰ τύχοι, σίτε, ἢ τινὸς τῶν
 λοιπῶν.

(q) Εἰ γὰρ τύχοι εἰπεῖν
 κόκκῳ σίτε, ἢ τῶν λοιπῶν
 σπερμάτων, ἐπὰν βληθῇ εἰς
 τὴν γῆν, πρῶτον ἀποθνήσκει
 καὶ λύεται, εἶτα ἐγείρεται,
 καὶ γίνεται σάχυσ. L. i. p.
 77. D.

(r) Ἐφ' ᾧ ἐδέχομεν ἐκδύ-
 σασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπενδύσασθαι,
 ἵνα καταποθῇ τὸ θνητὸν ὑπὸ
 τῆς ζωῆς.

(s) Ὅταν ἀπόθῃ τὸ θνη-
 τόν, καὶ ἐνδύσῃ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν.
 L. i. p. 74. B.

(t) Ἡδέως γὰρ ἀνέχεσθε
 τῶν ἀφρόνων, φρόνιμοι ὄντες.

(u) Φρόνιμῳ γὰρ ὧν ἡδέως
 μῶρων ἀνέχῃ. L. iii. p. 119. A.

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XVI. Ephes. ii. 2.
According to the prince of the power of the air, the (x) spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience.

XVII. Ephes. iii. 10. *Might (z) be known by the church the manifold wisdom of God.*

XVIII. Philip. iii. 20. *Whose God is their belly, and whose glorie is in their shame, who (b) mind earthly things.*

XVI. Speaking of ^{A. D. 181.} Satan, who deceived ^{Ephes.} Eve, he says: "For to this day (y) he worketh in them that are acted by him."

XVII. On the fifth day were made living creatures out of the water. Wherefore (a) also in these is shewn the manifold wisdom of God.

XVIII. But the ^{Philip.} four-footed creatures, and wild beasts, are a lively image of some men, who know not God, and are wicked, who (c) mind earthly things

G g 3

(x) Τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ νῦν ἐνεργῶν ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας.

(z) ἵνα γνωρισῇ—ἡ πολυπόικιλ σοφία Θεοῦ.

(b) Οἱ τὰ ἐπίγεια φρονούντες.

(y) Ἔως γὰρ τοῦ δεῦρο ἐνεργῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐνθυσιαζομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώποις. L. ii. p. 104. D.

(a) Διὸ καὶ ἐν ταῖς δεικνύται ἡ πολυπόικιλ σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ. L. ii. p. 95. B.

(c) Καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια φρονούντων, καὶ μὴ μετασώζοντων. L. ii. p. 95. D.

A. D.

181.

things, and repent
not.

By *repenting not* he seems to mean the same thing as *glorying in their shame*.

N. T.

Theophilus.

XIX. Philip. i. 10.

That (d) ye may approve things that are excellent, or try things that differ.

XIX. Persuading

Autolycus to employ the eyes of his mind in enquiring (e) after truth, he says, "by the eyes of the body, men try things that differ."

But though these are the very words of the Apostle, the agreement being in a very obvious thing, it may not be material.

N. T.

Theophilus.

XX. Philip. iv. 8.

Whatsoever things (f) are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are

XX. And that (g)

these things are true, and profitable, and just, and lovely in the sight of all men, is manifest.

pure,

(d) Εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν ἡμᾶς τὰ διαφέροντα.

(f) "Ὅσα εἰς ἀληθῆ, ὅσα σεμνὰ, ὅσα δίκαια, ὅσα ἀγνὰ, ὅσα προσφιλῆ, — ταῦτα λογίζεσθαι.

(e) "Ἀρα δοκιμάζοντες τὰ διαφέροντα. L. i. p. 70. A.

(g) "Ὅτι μὲν ἐν ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, καὶ ἐφελίμα, καὶ δίκαια, καὶ προσφιλῆ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τυγχάνει, δῆλόν ἐστιν. L. ii. p. 114. D.

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A. D.

181.

pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report: if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think of these things.

XXI. Col. i. 15. *Who is the image of the invisible God, the (b) first born of every creature. 16. For by him were created all things that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible . . . 17. And he is before all things, and by him all things consist.*

XXII. 1 Tim. ii. 1. 2. *I exhort there-*

XXI. For before *Coloss.* that any thing was made, he had him for his counsellour, being his understanding and wisdom. But when he determined to make those things about which he had taken counsel, he (i) brought forth from himself this Word, *the first born of every creature.*

XXII. The divine 1 Tim. word (k) moreover

G g 4

fore,

(b) — πρωτότοκος πάντων κτίσεως.

(i) Τοῦτου τὸν λόγον ἐγένε-
σε προοροικόν, πρωτότοκον πά-
σης κτίσεως. L. ii. p. 100. B.

(k) Ἐτι μὴν καὶ περὶ τοῦ
ὕποτάσσεσθαι ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξου-
σίαις,

A. D. fore, that supplications, ^{181.} prayers, — be made for all men: for kings, and all that are in authority, that (l) we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. Tit. iii. 5. Put them (m) in mind to be subject to principalities and powers.

Titus.

XXIII. Tit. ii. 11. 12. For the grace of God—has appeared to all men (n) teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live

commands us to be subject to principalities and powers, and to pray for them, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life.

XXIII. He says, Christians have for their law-giver the true God: who (o) teaches us to act righteously, godly, and honestly.

soberly,

(l) ἵνα ἡρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι.

οἷαις, καὶ εὐχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, κελεύει ἡμῶν θεὸς λόγος, ὅπως ἡρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν. L. 3. p. 126. C.

(m) Ὑπομίμνησε αὐτὰς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις ὑποτάσσεσθαι.

(n) Παιδεύουσα ἡμᾶς, ἵνα . . . σωφρόνως, καὶ δικαίως, καὶ εὐσεβῶς ζήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι.

(o) Ὃς διδάσκει ἡμᾶς δικαιοσυνῶν, καὶ εὐσεβεῖν, καὶ καταπορεύειν. L. iii. p. 123. A.

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*soberly, righteously and
godly in this world.*

XXIV. Tit. iii. 5.

6. But according to
his mercie he saved us,
by (p) the washing of
regeneration, and re-
newing of the Holy
Ghost, which he shed
on us abundantly
through Jesus Christ
our Saviour.

XXIV. That this
might be a sign, that
men should receive re-
pentance and remis-
sion of sins, through
(q) water, and the
washing of regenera-
tion, even all that
come to the truth,
and are regenerated,
and receive blessing
from God." This
blessing from God may
also intend the re-
newing of the Holy
Ghost, &c. See also
1 Tim. ii. 4.

XXV. There is a short passage, said to *Hebrews*.
be (r) a fragment of the Commentarie of
Theophilus

(p) Δία λουτρῶ παλιγγε-
νεσίας, καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πνευ-
ματός ἁγίου ὃ ἐξέχευ ἐφ'
ἡμᾶς πλεσίως.

(q) Δία ὕδατος καὶ λουτροῦ
παλιγγενεσίας πάντας τοὺς
προσίουτας τῇ ἀληθείᾳ. L. ii.
p. 95. B.

(r) Fragmentum commentarii Theophili in Cant. Cantico-
rum. Ex Eusebii expositione Cantici, &c. Apud Grabe
Spicil. T. 2. p. 224.

A. D. *Theophilus* upon *Solomon's Song*, to this purpose:
 181.

“ Our (s) Lord is of the Gentils according to the flesh, saving too the truth of what is said, *that he is of Judah.*” Which is supposed to be a reference to *Hebr. vii. 14.* For it is evident, that our Lord sprang out of *Judah.*

In this fragment there is also a plain quotation of these words: *But the greatest of these is charity.* 1 Cor. xiii. 13.

Hebr.

XXVI. He says: “ At (t) that time there was a righteous King, named *Melchisedec*, in the city of *Salem*, now called *Hierosolyma.* He was the first priest of the most high God. From him the city was called *Jerusalem*, which before was called *Hierosolyma.* From him there have been priests spread over all the earth.” This passage may be compared with *Hebr. vii. 1. 2. 3.* See likewise *Gen. xiv. 18.* and *Joseph. Antiq. L. i. cap. x.*

N. T.

Theophilus.

Hebr.

XXVII. Heb. xii. 9. *Farthermore, we* children ought to be *have had fathers of* in subjection to their *our*

(s) Εκ ἐθνῶν τὸ κατὰ σὰρκα ὁ Κύριος, σαζομένης καὶ τοῦ ἐξ Ἰούδα. Ibid.

(t) L. ii. p. 108. C.

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our flesh, who correct-
ed us, and we gave
them reverence. Shall
(u) we not much ra-
ther be in subjection to
the Father of spirits,
and live?

parents, how (x) much
rather [should we be
in subjection] to the
God and Father of
all?

A. D.
181.

This appears a more likely reference to
the epistle to the *Hebrews* than the fore-
going.

N. T.

Theophilus.

XXVIII. 1 Pet. i.

XXVIII. These : *Pet.*

18.—redeemed (y)
from our vain conver-
sation, received by tra-
dition from your fa-
thers.

idols the multitude
of vain men wor-
ships;—(z) adher-
ing to 'vain maxims,
through the error
of a foolish opinion,
received by tradition
from their fathers.

XXIX.

(u) Οὐ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὑπο-
ταγησόμεθα τῷ πατρὶ τῶν
πνευμάτων, καὶ ζήσομεν;

(y) Ἐλυτρώθητε ἐκ τῆς
ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πα-
τροπαραδότῃ.

(x) Εἰ δὲ χρὴ τὰ τέκνα
τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὑποτάσσεσθαι,
πόσω μᾶλλον τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πα-
τρὶ τῶν ὅλων; L. ii. p. 102,
C.

(z) Παιδόμενοι δόγμασι
ματαίοις, διὰ πλάνης πα-
τροπαραδότῃ γνώμης ἀσυ-
νέτε. L. ii. p. 110. B.

A. D.
181.

1 Peter.

XXIX. 1 Pet. ii.
13. *Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King as supreme.—15. For so is the will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men.—17. Honor all men, love the brotherhood, fear God, honor the King.*

2 Peter.

XXX. 2 Pet. i. 20.
21. *Knowing this first, that no prophecie of the scripture is of any private interpretation. For the prophecie came not in old time by the will of man: but holy men of God spake as they were moved by*

XXIX. But do (a) you honor the King, bearing him good will, being in subjection to him, praying for him. For so doing you do the will of God. For the law says: *My son, honor God and the King, &c.* See Prov. xxiv. 21.

XXX. But (b) *men of God* filled with the Holy Ghost, and becoming Prophets, inspired by God himself, and being enlightened, were taught of God, and were *holy* and righteous. Wherefore they obtained *the*

(a) L. i. p. 77. A.

(b) L. ii. p. 87. D.

I.
(a)
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Chap. XX. of *Antioch*.

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the Holy Ghost.

the honour to be- ^{A. D.}
come the organs of ^{181.}
God.

I cannot tell, whether this will be allowed to be a paraphrase of the text in the second of *Peter*.

N. T.

Theophilus.

XXXI. Rev. xii.

XXXI. This *Eve*, ^{Revela-}
^{tion.}

9. *And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world.*

(c) because she was deceived by the serpent,—the evil demon, who is also called *Satan*, who then spoke to her by the serpent — does not cease to accuse: This demon is also called *the Dragon*.

And *Eusebe* has assured us, that *Theophilus* in his book against *Hermogenes* brought testimonies from the *Apocalypse of John*. It cannot therefore be doubted, but he owned that writing.

XXXII. If we now take a review of these passages, we shall find the amount to be this: ^{The sum of his testi-}
^{monie.}

Theophilus

(c) L. ii. p. 104. D.

A. D.
181. *Theophilus* has quoted words of St. *Matthew's* Gospel, as plainly as if he had named him. It is probable, he had read St. *Luke's* also. And St. *John* is quoted by name. If the Commentaries upon the Gospels, mentioned by St. *Jerome*, are allowed to be writ by *Theophilus*; it is evident, he had the four Gospels before him.

In these books to *Autolycus* are no plain references to the book of the *Acts*. But in those Commentaries we saw plain references to it.

In these books to *Autolycus* there are sufficiently plain allusions to the epistles of St. *Paul* to the *Romans*, first and second to the *Corinthians*, *Ephesians*, *Philippians*, *Colossians*, first to *Timothie*, and to *Titus*. The references to the epistle to the *Hebrews* are doubtful, except that in the fragment. The passages that seem to bear a respect to the first and second of *Peter*, are of some moment, and may deserve consideration. That the book of the *Revelation* was owned by him, is undoubted from *Eusebe*: and our extracts afford a passage, which seems to contain an allusion to it.

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XXXIII. Nothing more remains, but that we observe some general titles and forms of quotation used by *Theophilus*; and the respect he has expressed for the Scriptures of the New Testament.

A. D.
181.

His respect
for the
Books of
the N. T.

In the passage at numb. I. after he had recited many precepts of virtue and piety out of the books of the Old Testament, he says: *But the Evangelic voice teaches chastity in yet greater perfection.* And afterwards, *But the Gospel says: Love your enemies.* At numb. V. he reckons the Gospel of *John* among the *Holy Scriptures*, and *John* with those who were moved by the *Holy Spirit*. At numb. XXII. quoting a precept out of the Epistles of *Paul*, he says: *The Divine Word commands.* And in another passage, not yet taken notice of, he says: “ Moreover (d) ‘ concerning the righteousness which the ‘ law teaches, the like things are to be found ‘ also in the Prophets, and the Gospels, be- ‘ cause that all being inspired spoke by one ‘ and the same Spirit of God.” And this passage may very much dispose us to think, he

(d) Ἐπὶ μὲν καὶ περὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἥς ὁ νόμος εἰρηκεν, ἀκόλουθα εὐρίσκεται καὶ τὰ τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ τῶν εὐαγγελίων, διὰ τὸ τοὺς πάντας πνευματοφόρους ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ λέγειν. l. iii. p. 124. 125.

^{181.} A. D. he had before him the four Gospels. Nor will any one imagine it likely, that in these books to *Autolycus*, a Heathen, we should have exprefs references to all the writings, which were esteemed sacred, and of authority, by *Theophilus*.





CHAP. XXI.

PANTAENUS.

PANTÆNUS flourished, according A. D.
192.
(a) to *Cave*, about the year 181. Which is not said altogether without reason, though *St. Jerome* (b) says, he lived to the time of *Caracalla*, who did not begin his reign after his father's death till 211. His native country is uncertain. Some have supposed him a *Jew*, others a *Sicilian*. *Fabricius* (c) says, he was an *Athenian*: relying, I suppose, upon the authority of *Philippus Sidetes*. He is generally thought to be one of the masters of *Clement* (d) of *Alexandria*, of whom he speaks with great respect in his *Stromata*: and, as (e) *Eusebe* assures us, he expressly called *Pantaenus* his master in his *Institutions*. He is also mentioned with great respect by

H h Alex-

(a) *Hist. Liter.*

(b) *De Vir. Ill.* cap. 36.

(c) *Bibl. Gr.* Tom. v. p. 193.

(d) *Strom.* l. i. p. 274. D. conf. *Eus.* H. E. L. v. cap. xi. in.

(e) *Eus.* *ibid.*

A. D.
192.

Alexander Bishop of *Jerusalem*, in a fragment of a letter to *Origen*, preserved by (f) *Eusebe*: In which he particularly says, *Pantaenus* was the person, who brought him into acquaintance with *Origen*: which also is another proof, that *Pantaenus* did not dye before the begining of the second centurie. *Origen* (g) justifieth himself in the studie of Heathen learning by the example of *Pantaenus*, who, he says, was a very useful person, and well furnished with that part of knowledge. *Photius* (h) speaks of him, as a hearer of some of those who had seen the Apostles, and even of some of the Apostles themselves. Which last is admitted by very few moderns. Nor does *Photius* speak positively in this matter.

The time, character, and employments of this great man, will appear farther in the testimonies of *Eusebe* and *Jerome*.

Eusebe (i) having observed, that *Julian* received the Bishoprick of the church of *Alexandria* in the first year of *Commodus*, proceeds: " At that time there presided in
the

(f) L. vi. cap. 14. p. 216. C.

(g) Ap. *Euf.* H. E. l. vi. cap. 19. p. 221. B.

(h) Cod. 118. p. 297. ver. 30.

(i) H. E. L. v. cap. 9. 10.

‘ the school of the faithful at that place a
 ‘ man highly celebrated on account of his
 ‘ learning, by name *Pantaenus*. For there
 ‘ had been from ancient time erected among
 ‘ them a school of sacred learning; which
 ‘ remains to this day. And we have under-
 ‘ stood, that it has been wont to be furnish-
 ‘ ed with men eminent for their eloquence,
 ‘ and the studie of divine things. And, (k)
 ‘ it is said, the forementioned person excel-
 ‘ led others of that time, having been
 ‘ brought up in the principles of the *Stoic*
 ‘ philosophie. It is (l) said, that he shew-
 ‘ ed such ardour of affection for the Divine
 ‘ Word, as to be nominated also a preacher
 ‘ of the gospel of Christ to the nations of
 ‘ the East, and to have gone as far as *India*.
 ‘ [or *Ethiopia*.] For there were yet at that
 ‘ time many Evangelists of the word ani-
 ‘ mated with a divine zeal of imitating the
 ‘ Apostles by contributing to the enlarge-
 ‘ ment of the gospel, and building up of
 ‘ the church. Of whom *Pantaenus* also was
 ‘ one, who is (m) said to have gone to the
 ‘ *Indians*. Where (n) it is commonly said

H h 2

‘ he

(k) Λόγος ἔχει.

(l) Φάσιν.

(m) Λέγεται.

(n) Ἐνθα λόγος εὐρεῖν αὐτὸν, προφάσιν τὴν αὐτοῦ παρ-
 σίαν.

A. D. 192. { he found the Gospel of *Matthew*, which before his arrival had been delivered to some in that countrey, who had the knowledge of Christ: to whom *Bartholomew*, one of the Apostles, is said to have preached: and to have left with them that writing of *Matthew* in *Hebrew* letters, and that it was preserved among them to that time. This *Pantaenus* therefore for his many excellent performances was at last (o) made President of the school of *Alexandria*, where he set forth the treasures of the Divine Principles both by word of mouth and by his writings."

Certainly *Eusebe* is here inaccurate in saying, that *Pantaenus* was at last made President of that school, when he had before expressly said, he presided in it in the the beginning of the reign of *Commodus*: Not to insist farther, that *St. Clement* of *Alexandria* (p) succeeded *Pantaenus* in that school about the

σίαν. τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον παρὰ τισιν αὐτόθι τὸν Χρ. σὺν ἐπεχυνώσιν· οἷς βαρδολομαῖον τῶν ἀποστόλων ἕνα κηρύξαι αὐτοῖς τε Ἑβραίων γράμμασι τὴν τῷ Ματθαίῳ καταλείπει γραφήν· ἢ καὶ σαζεσθαι ἐκ τὸν δηλούμενον χρέον.

(o) Τὸ κατ' Ἀλεξάνδριαν τελευτῶν ἡγεῖται διδασκαλίᾳ.

(p) *Eus. Hist. L. vi. c. 6.*

the year 190, and was succeeded by (q) ^{A. D. 192.} *Origen*. It will be no vindication of *Eusebe*, to say, there might be two schools at *Alexandria*, and that *Pantaenus* was master of one of them. If *Eusebe* thought so, he should have said it. But let there be but one, or ever so many; it is improper to say, he was *at last* made President or master of the school, when he had been so according to his own account, long before. However, *Eusebe* seems to have thought, he was for some time, after his return from *Ethiopia*, employed in the same office he had before he went thither.

What *Jerome* says of this ancient *Christian* is to this purpose: “ (r) *Pantaenus* a Philosopher of the *Stoic* sect according to an ancient custom of the city of *Alexandria*, where from the time of the Evangelist *Mark* there had been alwaies Ecclesiastical Masters, was a man of so great prudence and learning, both in the Divine Scripture and secular literature, that at the request of Ambassadors from *India*, he was sent into that countrey by *Demetrius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, where he found, that *Bartho-*

H h 3 *lomew,*

(q) *Eus. ib. c. 3.*

(r) *De Vir. Ill. c. 36.*

A. D.
192.

‘ *lomeu* (s), one of the twelve Apostles, had
‘ preached the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ,
‘ according to the Gospel of *Matthew*, which
‘ he brought back with him to *Alexandria*,
‘ written in *Hebrew* letters. There are also
‘ extant many Commentaries of this person
‘ upon the Holy Scripture, but he was more
‘ profitable to the churches by his discourses.
‘ He taught under the reign of *Severus*, and
‘ *Antonine*, called *Caracalla*”

I have placed *Pantaenus* at the year 192, because it is the soonest that we can suppose him returned from *Ethiopia*.

St. *Jerome* says, the school at *Alexandria* had been in being from the time of St. *Mark*: and *Eusebe*, from *ancient time*. *Pantaenus* however is the first master of it, of which there is any mention made in antiquity, unless we admit the account given by *Philippus Sidetes*, of which we have (t) spoken before: who says, *Athenagoras* had this office. But it is somewhat strange, that no notice

(t) Ubi reperit, Bartholomaeum de duodecim Apostolis, adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi juxta Matthaei evangelium praedicasse, quod Hebraicis litteris scriptum, reverens Alexandriam secum detulit. Hujus multi quidem in sanctum scripturam extant commentarii, sed magis viva voce ecclesiis profuit. De *Vir. Ill.* cap. 36

(1) Ch. xviii. p. 405.

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notice should be taken of this by *Clement*, nor *Origen*, nor *Eusebe*.

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Jerome says, *there were extant Commentaries of Pantaenus upon the Scripture*. But he gives no particular account of them, and says, he was more profitable by his discourses than his writings. Nor has *Eusebe* mentioned the title of any work of *Pantaenus*. There is nothing now remaining of him, except a short passage in the *Eclogae*, ascribed to (u) *Clement of Alexandria*, containing a rule for the better understanding the stile of the Prophets. It might be taken out of a Commentarie upon the nineteenth Psalm.

Eusebe mentions no authority for what he relates of *Pantaenus*. And throughout his account mixes such phrases as these, *it is said*, or *reported*, and the like. *It is said*, *Bartholomew* had preached the gospel before in *India*, and that he found the Gospel of *Matthew* there in *Hebrew*. *St. Jerome* adds, that he brought it home with him to *Alexandria*: without any ground for it, so far as appears. And, as *Richard Simon* (x) thinks, mistaking the words of *Eusebe*, who only

H h 4.

says,

(u) P. 808.

(x) *Histoire Crit. du text du N. T.* ch. iv. p. 41.

A. D. ^{192.} says, that the Christians of *Ethiopia* had preserved that *Hebrew* Gospel till the arrival of *Pantaenus*. And farther the same Critic (y) says, that if this storie of *Eusebe* be true, these first Christians of *Ethiopia* were descended from the *Jews*, and spake the same language with them that lived in *Judea*.

I think indeed, this storie is of no great importance, it not being supported by the authority of any ancient writer of that time: though it could not be quite omitted here.

And if any should be therefore of opinion, that I have been too long in my account of *Pantaenus*; I would observe, that as I was obliged to mention him, it could not be amiss to relate his historie here at length. It is true, it affords not much concerning this part of our design: But it is very suitable to the general design of this work, the *Credibility of the Gospel Historie*, to shew the merit of the Professors of Christianity on account of learning, diligence, zeal, remarkable integrity, or any other laudable qualifications.

(y) Ibid. See likewise *Du Pin*, who doubts of the truth of this relation. *Biblioth. des Auteurs Ecc.* Tom. i. *Pantaenus. et Responce aux remarques sur la Bibliothique*, &c. Ch. vii. at the end of the sixth centurie.

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tions. And though we need some particular information concerning the journey into *Ethiopia*, and the Gospel, which *Pantaenus* is said to have found there; it cannot be doubted, but he was President of the Catechetical School of *Alexandria*, and a man of eminent learning. This is evident from the testimonies here alleged, several of which have no dependence at all upon this storie about the *Hebrew Gospel*.

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CHAP.



CHAP. XXII.

St. CLEMENT of Alexandria.

- I. *His Historie, Time, Works, and Character.*
- II. *Three Passages of Clement from Eusebe's Ecclesiastical Historie, concerning the four Gospels, particularly, St. Mark's Gospel.*
- III. *Difficulties in these Passages considered.*
- IV. *Remarks upon the same Passages.*
- V. *More Passages concerning the four Gospels from the remaining Works of Clement.*
- VI. *Of the Acts of the Apostles.*
- VII. *St. Paul's Epistles.*
- VIII. *The Catholic Epistles.*
- IX. *The Revelation.*
- X. *A Summarie Account of the Books of the N. T. received by him.*
- XI. *General Titles and Divisions of the Scriptures, and Respect for them.*
- XII. *Whether he quotes other Writings, as of Authority. And first of Ecclesiastical Writings.*
 1. *St. Barnabas.*
 2. *Clement of Rome.*
 3. *Hermas.*
 4. *A general Remark.*
- XIII. *Apocryphal Writings quoted by him.*
 1. *The Gospels according to the*

the Hebrews, and the Egyptians. 2. The Preaching of Peter. 3. The Revelation of Peter. 4. Acts of Peter. 5. Traditions of Matthias. 6. Sayings of Christ. XIV. Of the Sibylline Poems.

I. **TITUS** (A) *Flavius Clemens*, usually called *St. Clement of Alexandria*, ^{A. D. 194.} flourished, according to (b) *Cave*, from the year 192 and onwards. He is said by some (c) to be a native of *Athens*, by others of *Alexandria*, where he certainly resided a good while. *Eusebe* (d) intimates, that he was originally a Heathen. We do not certainly know the time of his birth, or death. He flourished plainly in the later part of the second, and beginning of the third centurie, in the reigns of *Severus*, and his son *Antoninus Caracalla*; that is, between 192 and 217. *Du Pin* (e) supposes he lived to the time of *Heliogabalus*, and that he did not dye before the

(A) For a more particular account of this author, than I have room to give, may be seen *Fabric. Bib. Gr. Tom. v. p. 102. &c. Du Pin. Bibl. des Aut. Eccl. & Tillemont Memoires Eccl. Tom. iii. Le Clerc Bibl. Univ. Tom. x. p. 175.*

(b) *Hist. Lit.*

(c) *Epiphan. Haer. 32. c. 6. p. 213. B.*

(d) *Praep. Ev. l. 2. cap. 2. p. 61.*

(e) *Biblioth. in Clement d'Alex. at the beginning.*

A. D. the year 220. But most are of opinion, his
 194.
 death happened sooner.

He has the title of Presbyter given him by several of the ancients. He was likewise President of the Catechetical school of *Alexandria*. He seems to have succeeded *Pantaenus* in that office upon his going into *Ethiopia* about the year 190. And it is very (*f*) probable, that upon the publication of the edicts of *Severus* against the Christians, in the tenth year of his reign, *A. D.* 202. *Clement* was obliged to lay down that office, and likewise to retire from *Alexandria*. We do not certainly know, what eminent men proceeded from *Clement's* school. But (*g*) *Eusebe* has expressly assured us, that *Origen*, when young, was his hearer. And it is probable, that *Alexander*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, had been taught by him.

Clement wrote a great number of books. There are catalogues of his works in (*b*) *Eusebe*, and (*i*) *Jerome*, which yet seem not to contain a compleat enumeration of them.

The

(*f*) See *Tillemont, Mém. E. St. Clement d'A.* . . Article ii
 & *Euseb. H. E. L. vi. p. 201. 208.*

(*g*) *H. E. L. vi. cap. 6.*

(*b*) *H. E. L. vi. c. 13.*

(*i*) *De Vir. Ill. c. p. 38.*

The works of *Clement* now remaining are ^{A. D. 194.} an *Exhortation to the Gentils*: The *Pedagogue*, or Instructor, in three books: and the *Stromata*, or Various Discourses, in eight books: and a small treatise entitled, *Who is the rich man that may be saved*. The *Stromata* were writ after the death of *Commodus*, in the reign of *Severus*, as *Eusebe* (k) has observed from a passage of the work itself. *Dodwell* (l) was of opinion, that all the works of *Clement*, which are remaining, were written between the begining of the year 193 and the end of the year 195.

Beside these there is frequent mention in (m) *Eusebe* of another book of *Clement*, called *Hypotuposes*, or *Institutions*, which is lost. But we have in *Greek* two small pieces, one called an *Epitome of the writings of Theodotus*, and the *Oriental Doctrine*; the other, *Extracts from the Prophets*: both which are generally supposed to be collected out of the lost book of *Institutions*, or to be fragments of it. There is likewise in *Latin* a small treatise, or fragment, called *Adumbrations on*
some

(k) H. E. L. vi. c. 6.

(l) *Differt. Iren.* iii. §. 27.

(m) H. E. L. i. c. 12. L. ii. cap. I. p. 38. c. 9. & c. 15. L. vi. c. 13. 14.

¹⁹⁴
 A. D. *some of the Catholic Epistles*: which also, if it be *Clement's*, was probably translated from the same work, called *Institutions*: which, as we know from (n) *Eusebe*, and others, contained short explications of many books both of the Old and New Testament.

There are great commendations of *Clement* in many of the ancients. I shall put down some of them. But first of all I would take a passage from himself, in part also cited by (o) *Eusebe*; because it will be of use to inform us of his character, and his authority in the things we shall allege from him.

He (p) says in the first book of his *Stromata*: “ This work I have composed not
 “ for ostentation, but as an artless image,
 “ and picture of the powerful and lively
 “ discourses of those blessed and truly wor-
 “ thie men, which I have had the happi-
 “ ness to hear.” The following part of the passage is somewhat obscure. But he speaks of one, by whom he had been taught in *Greece*: another in *Italie*: and two more, as it seems, in the *East*: and another in *Egypt*, supposed by *Eusebe* to be *Pantaenus*,
 of

(n) H. E. L. vi. c. 14.

(o) Ibid. L. v. cap. xi.

(p) p. 274. B. C.

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of whom he speaks in this manner: " But
 " the last whom I met with was the first
 " in merit. After a long search I found him
 " lying hid in *Egypt*, and in him I acquiesced.
 " He was indeed a *Sicilian Bee*, who gather-
 " ed the flowers of the Prophetic and Apo-
 " stolic Meadow, and filled the minds of his
 " hearers with sincere knowledge. These
 " (q) men [*he intends his masters, of whom he*
 " *had before spoken*] having preserved the
 " true tradition of the blessed doctrine in a
 " direct succession from the holy Apostles,
 " *Peter, James, John, and Paul*, as from
 " father to son, (though few are like their
 " fathers,) have lived by the blessing of
 " God to our time, to lodge in our minds
 " the seeds of the ancient and Apostolical
 " Doctrine."

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194.

It appears from this passage, that our *Cle-
 ment* had traveled, and was inquisitive:
 and that what he valued above all things
 was the pure, ancient, and Apostolical doc-
 trine.

I shall

(q) Ὅτι μὲν τὴν ἀληθὴν τῆς μακαρίας σώζοντες διδασκαλίας
 παράδοσιν, εὐθύς ἀπὸ Πέτρου τε καὶ Ἰακώβου, Ἰωάννου τε καὶ Παύ-
 λου, τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεχόμενος.
 ὀλίγοι δὲ πατέραςιν ὅμοιοι ἦκου δὴ σὺν Θεῷ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τὰ
 προγονικὰ ἐκείνα καὶ ἀποστολικά καταθησόμενοι σπέρματα. *ibid.*
 p. 274. D. 275. A.

A. D.

194.

I shall next put down some testimonies of the ancient writers concerning this Father. And the first must be that of *Alexander*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, contemporarie with *Clement*, and perhaps one of his scholars. *Alexander* in a letter to the *Antiochians*, writ before he was Bishop of *Jerusalem*, in the heat of the persecution under *Severus*, speaks to them of *Clement* in this manner. “ This letter (r) I have sent you by *Clement*, a blessed Presbyter, a virtuous and approved man, whom also ye know, and will know better: who having been brought hither by the Divine disposal and providence, established and encreased the church of the Lord.”

The same *Alexander* in a letter to *Origen*, writ after the death of *Clement*, speaks thus: “ For we (s) know those blessed fathers, who have gone before us, and with whom we shall shortly be: I mean *Pantaenus* truly blessed, and my master: and the sacred *Clement*, who was my master and profitable to me.” These two fragments are preserved in *Eusebe*.

Eusebe(r) *H. E. L. vi. cap. xi.*(s) *Euf. L. vi. cap. xiv. p. 216. C.*

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Eusebe in his (t) Chronicle, at the year A. D.
194. 194, says: “ *Clement* the author of the *Stromata*, Presbyter of *Alexandria*, an excellent master of the Christian Philosophie, “ was eminent (u) for his writings.” At this year therefore I place him.

In another work *Eusebe* calls him more than once the *admirable* (w) *Clement*.

St. *Jerome* in his (x) book of *Illustrious Men* assures us, he was Presbyter of the Church of *Alexandria*, a hearer of *Pantaeus*, and his successor in the school of *Alexandria*: and says of his works, of which he there gives a catalogue, that they (y) are full of erudition and eloquence, borrowed from the treasures of the Divine Scripture and secular literature. He concludes his account of him, that he flourished in the times of *Severus*, and his son *Antoninus*.

And in another place: “ *Clement* (z)
I i “ Presbyter

(t) p. 216.

(u) Συντάττων δέλαμπεν.

(w) Κλήμης ὁ θαυμάσιος. Praep. Ev. l. 2. p. 61. B. & l. 4. c. 16. p. 157. A.

(x) cap. 38.

(y) Feruntur ejus insignia volumina, plenaque eruditionis & eloquentiae, tam de scripturis divinis quam de saecularis literaturae instrumento. ibid.

(z) Clemens Alexandrinae ecclesiae Presbyter, meo judicio omnium eruditissimus. . . . Quid in illis indoctum, imo quid non de media philosophia est? *Ad Magnum Orat. Ep.* 83. al. 84.

A. D. 194. “ Presbyter of the church of *Alexandria*, in
 “ my opinion the most learned of all men,
 [or, perhaps, of all the *Christian* Writers
 “ whom he there names:] wrote eight
 “ books of *Stromata*, as many of *Institutions*,
 “ and another *against the Gentils*, the *Pae-*
 “ *dagogue* also in three books. What is there
 “ in them unlearned? what not taken out of
 “ the very depths of philosophie?” This
 short passage shews, what were *Clement's*
 chief works.

I omit many other testimonies, that may
 be seen prefixed to the *Oxford* edition of *St.*
Clement's works. And shall content myself
 with adding, that there are divers passages of
St. Cyril (a) of *Alexandria*, and another of
Socrates (b) in his *Ecclesiastical Historie*, very
 much to his advantage.

Photius (c) indeed has severely censured
Clement's Hypotuposes, or *Institutions*. We
 have not that work, to enable us to judge of
 the justnesse of his censure. But it seems,
 that in that work *Clement* collected and deli-
 vered a variety of opinions of the ancients be-
 fore him, of heretics as well as the catholics.

This

(a) *Contra. Jul* l. 3. p. 87. E. L. 6. p. 205. B. L. 7.
 p. 231. E. L. 10. p. 342. D. ed. *Lips.* 1696.

(b) L. 2. c. 35. p. 130.

(c) *Cod.* cix.

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This is probably the reason of the *blasphemies* and *fables*, which *Photius* says there were in that book. This is an observation (d) of *R. Simon*. The more ancient writers however seem not to have taken any offense at it, who knew this work very well, and yet have bestowed their praises on the author without hesitation.

There are some moderns likewise, who (e) have thought *St. Clement's* judgement not equal to his reading, which was certainly prodigious. I shall not make a particular apologie for him. Nor do I assert the infallibility of the Fathers. I have said enough to shew the age, and authority of *St. Clement* in those things we shall allege from him.

II. I now proceed to observe what there is to our present purpose in his remaining works, or in the quotations made out of them, or others, by ancient writers.

*His Testi-
monie to
the Books
of the
N. T.*

Eusebe has several passages of *St. Clement* relating to his quotations of the books of Scripture, or his historie of them.

I i 2

I. The

(d) En effet il y a de l'apparence que cet ouvrage n'étoit autre chose, qu'un recueil des auteurs Ecclesiastiques qui l'avoient precedé, & dont une partie étoient heretiques. *Hist. Crit. des Commentat. du N. T. ch. 2. p. 18.*

(e) *Le Clerc Bibl. Univ. T. x. p. 231.*

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194.

Three Pas-
sages from
Eusebe.

1. The first passage of *Eusebe* is in the
fifteenth chapter of the second book of his
Ecclesiastical Historie: where, having in
the foregoing chapters given the historie of
the successe of St. *Peter's* preaching the
gospel at *Rome*, and his defeat of *Simon*
Magus in that City, he proceeds. “ But
“ (f) *the lustre of religion had so enlighten-*
“ *ed the minds of Peter's hearers, [at Rome]*
“ *that not content with a single hearing, nor*
“ *with an unwritten instruction in the Di-*
“ *vine Doctrine; they with many prayers en-*
“ *treated Mark the follower of Peter, whose*
“ *Gospel we have, that he would leave them*
“ *in writing a memorial of the doctrine which*
“ *had been delivered to them by word of*
“ *mouth. Nor did they desist, till they had*
“ *prevailed with him. And thus they were the*
“ *means of writing the Gospel, which is called*
“ *according to Mark.* It is said, that (g) when
“ the Apostle knew what had been done,
“ the Spirit having revealed it to him, he
“ was pleased with the zeal of the men,
“ and authoris'd that writing [or *scripture*]
“ to be read in the churches. *Clement* gives
“ this

(f) *Euseb. H. E. l. 2. c. 15.*

(g) Ἰνόντα δὲ τὸ πραχθὲν φασὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον, ἀποκαλί-
ψαντος αὐτῷ τῷ πνεύματος, ἡσθῆναι τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν προθυμίᾳ,
αὐρῶσαι τε τὴν γραφὴν εἰς ἔντευξιν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. *L. ii. c. 15*

“ this account in the sixth book of his *In-* A. D.
stitutions. And herein agrees with him (b) 194.
Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis.”

2. The next passage of *Eusebe* to be here taken notice of is in the 13. chapter of the sixth book of his *Ecclesiastical History*: Where mentioning divers of *St. Clement's* works, and particularly his *Stromata*, he says: “ Moreover (i) in these works he makes use of testimonies out of those scriptures, which are contradicted; as out of that which is called the *Wisdom of Solomon*, and the book of *Jesus the son of Sirach*; and the epistle to the *Hebrews*, and the Epistle of *Barnabas*, and *Clement*, and *Jude*.”

3. The third passage of *Eusebe* is in the next chapter, the title of which is: *What scriptures are mentioned by Clement*. It begins thus. “ But (k) in his *Institutions*, to speak briefly, he gives short explications of all the Canonical Scripture, [or, as *Valesius* renders it, of the *Scriptures of each Testament*] not omit-

I i 3

“ ting

(b) See before p. 244. 245. and p. 249.

(i) Κέχρηται δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀντιλεγόμενων γραφῶν μαρτυρίαις. . . καὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῆς τῆς τε Βαρνάβα καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ Ἰούδα. L. vi. c. 13.

(k) *Euseb. H. E. l. 6. cap. 14.*

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“ ting those that are contradicted: I mean
 “ the epistle of *Jude*, and the other *Catho-*
 “ *lic* epistles, and the epistle of *Barna-*
 “ *bas*, and the book called the *Revelation*
 “ of *Peter*. And he says, that the *epistle*
 “ to the *Hebrews* is *Paul's*, and that it was
 “ writ to the *Hebrews* in the *Hebrew* language:
 “ and that *Luke* having carefully translated
 “ it, published it for the use of the *Greeks*.
 “ Which is the reason of that conformity of
 “ style, which is found in this epistle and the
 “ *Acts* of the *Apostles*. But that he did
 “ not make use of that inscription, *Paul* the
 “ *Apostle*, of which he assigns this reason:
 “ For, says he, writing to the *Hebrews*,
 “ who had conceived a prejudice against him,
 “ and were suspicious of him, he wisely de-
 “ clined setting his name at the beginning,
 “ lest he should offend them. And after-
 “ wards he says: Now as the blessed *Pres-*
 “ byter said: Forasmuch as the *Lord* was
 “ sent as the *Apostle* of *Almighty* *God* to the
 “ *Hebrews*, *Paul* out of modestie, as being
 “ sent to the *Gentils*, does not stile himself
 “ the *Apostle* of the *Hebrews*: both out of
 “ respect to the *Lord*, and that being the
 “ preacher and *Apostle* of the *Gentils*, he
 “ ever and above wrote to the *Hebrews*. More-
 “ over

“ over in the same books *Clement* has a
 “ tradition concerning the order of the
 “ Gospels, which he had received from
 “ Presbyters of more ancient times, and
 “ which is to this purpose: He says (1), that
 “ the Gospels containing the Genealogies were
 “ first writ: That the occasion of writing
 “ the Gospel according to Mark was this:
 “ Peter having publicly preached the word
 “ at Rome, and having spoken the Gospel by
 “ the Spirit, many who were there entreat-
 “ ed Mark to write the things that had
 “ been spoken, he having long accompanied
 “ him, [Peter,] and retaining what he had
 “ said: And that when he had composed the
 “ Gospel, he delivered it to them who had
 “ asked it of him. Which when Peter knew,
 “ he neither forbid it, nor encouraged it. And
 “ that last of all John observing, that in the
 “ other Gospels those things were related that

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194.

I i 4

“ concerned

(1) Προγεγράφθαι ἔλεγε τῶν εὐαγγελίων τὰ περιέχοντα τὰς
 γενεαλογίας· τὸ δὲ κατὰ Μάρκον ταύτην ἐχηκέναι οἰκονομίαν·
 τὸ Πέτρον δημοσίᾳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ κηρύξαντ' ὁ λόγον, καὶ πνεύμα-
 τι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐξειπόντ', τὰς παρόντας πολλὰς ὄντας
 παρακαλέσαι τὸν Μάρκον, ὡς ἀκολουθησάντα αὐτῷ πορεύσθαι, καὶ
 μεμνημένον τῶν λεχθέντων, ἀναγράψαι τὰ ἐρημέα· ποιή-
 σαντα δὲ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, μεταδῆναι τοῖς δεομένοις αὐτῷ ὅπερ
 ἐπιγινόντα τὸν Πέτρον, προτρέπτικῶς μὴ τε καλύσαι μὴτε προτρέ-
 φασθαι· τὸν μὲντοι Ἰωάννην ἔχατον συνιδόντα ὅτι τὰ σωματι-
 κά ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις δεδῆλωται· προβραπέντα ὑπὸ τῶν γνω-
 ριμῶν, πνεύματι θεωρηθέντα, πνευματικὸν ποιῆσαι εὐαγ-
 γέλιον· τούτων ὁ Κλήμης. *Εκf. ib. p. 216. B.*

A. D. 194. "concerned the (B) body [of Christ] and being persuaded by his friends, and also moved by the Spirit of God, wrote a spiritual Gospel. So far Clement."

Difficulties
in those
Passages
considered.

III. These are the three passages of *Eusebe*. We must begin our remarks on them with considering the difficulties in the two accounts, which *Eusebe* has given concerning St. Mark's Gospel in the first, and last of these passages. One difficulty concerns the interpretation of some words in the former of them: The other is the disagreement, which there seems to be between these two accounts.

The first
Difficulty.

I. The first difficulty relates to the interpretation of some expressions in the first of these passages, where, after the account of Mark's writing his Gospel at the desire of the Romans, it is added: *It is said, that when the Apostle knew what had been done, the Spirit having revealed it to him, he was pleased with the zeal of the men.* Which is also the sense of *Valesius's* translation. And yet one may be apt to suspect this interpretation, though perfectly agreeable to the present text of *Eusebe*;

(B) So the original words are rendered by *Valesius*: quae ad corpus Christi pertinent. Others may choose they should be rendered, which appertained to Christ's humanity.

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sebe; because the thing itself is unlikely, that *Peter* should have a revelation of such a thing made to him. I have sometimes thought, that the meaning, or design of these words might be taken without inconvenience from the later account; wherein it is said, that *Peter* had publicly preached the Word, and spoken it by the Spirit. The revelation of the Spirit to *Peter* then is not to be understood of the fact, of *Mark's* having written a Gospel, or of his having been desired by the *Romans* to do so, but only of the gospel, which had been preached by *Peter*.

A. D.

194.

But yet it must be owned, that these words in *Eusebe* seem to have been formerly understood of the fact, that *Mark* had writ a Gospel; this passage having been translated in that sense (m) by *Ruffin*, as well as by learned (n) modern interpreters. And *Theophylact*,

(m) Petrus vero, ut per Spiritum sanctum religioso se spoliatum comperit furto, delectatus est, fidem eorum per haec devotionemque considerans: scriptumque confirmavit, et in perpetuum legendam scripturam ecclesiis tradidit. *Ruffin*.

(n) *Modern interpreters* I choose to put down here some of their translations. Ajunt autem apostolum, cum ex instinctu Spiritus Sancti factam hoc cognovisset, delectatum esse virorum istorum voluntate, & scriptum hoc evangelium ecclesiis ad legendam autoritate sua confirmasse. *Wolf. Nusc.* *Basil.* 1611. Cum ergo Petrus apostolus divina Spiritus Sancti revelatione

A. D. ¹⁹⁴ *ophylaēt*, of the eleventh centurie, in his preface to St. *Mark's* Gospel writes to this purpose: "That *Mark* usually accompanied *Peter*, and particularly was with him at *Rome*. The faithful (*o*) therefore at *Rome* entreated him, not only to preach by word of mouth, but also to write out for them the historie of the life of Christ. After much persuation he wrote. And it was revealed to *Peter* from God, that *Mark* had writen a Gospel. Having seen it, and confirmed the truth of it, he sent him away to be Bishop in *Egypt*." This must weaken our supposition, that this sentence may be interpreted by the later account, and understood of the gospel preached by *Peter*. But if we should not quite remove this difficulty, we may be the less uneasy,

revelatione suggerente intelligeret, illud opus editum esse: ferunt eum propenso & acri hominum studio magnopere fuisse delectatum, hancque scripturam autoritate sua ratam fecisse, quo in ecclesiis passim perlegeretur. *Ex interpretatione Christophorsoni, & recognitione Suffridi Petri.* Quod cum Petrus per revelationem Sancti Spiritus cognovisset, delectatus ardenti hominum studio, librum illum auctoritate sua comprobasse dicitur, ut deinceps in ecclesiis legeretur. *Henr. Vales.*

(*o*) Ἡτίσαντο ἐν αὐτὸν οἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ πεισοὶ, μὴ μόνον ἀγγέλλας κηρύσσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγγράφως αὐτοῖς ἐκθέσθαι τὴν κατὰ Χριστὸν πολιτείαν· μόλις οὖν πεισθεὶς συνεγράφατο· τῷ δὲ πέτρῳ ἀπεκαλύφθη παρὰ θεῶ, ὅτι μάρτυρ συνέγραψεν εὐαγγελίον· ἰδὼν οὖν, καὶ ἐπιβεβαιώσας ὡς ἀληθὲς, εἶτα ἐπίσκοπον αὐτὸν ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον. *Theophyl. praefat. ad Marc.*

uneasie, because this part of the relation is introduced in *Eusebe*, with an *it is said*: of which more hereafter, when I hope we may likewise farther clear up this passage. A. D. 194.

2. The other difficulty is the disagreement between these accounts, one saying, that *Peter authorised Mark's Gospel*: the other, that he *neither forbid it, nor encouraged it*. The second Difficulty.

The method, which *Valesius* takes to reconcile these accounts, is this. “ The difficulty, *says he*, is, that (p) in the later passage *Eusebe* seems to make *Clement* speak differently from what he had done in the former. But, *says he*, if we consider these things carefully, there is no contradiction between them. For *Clement* says, that when *Peter* knew, that *Mark's Gospel* was written and published; he did not openly forbid it, or commend it. Therefore he approved it by a tacit consent.

(p) Hic verò Clementis verba ex eodem libro referens Eusebius aliter eum loquentem inducit. Verum si rem attentius consideremus, haec inter se non pugnant. Ait enim Clemens, Petrum cum evangelium a Marco scriptum editumque esse cognovisset, palam nec vetuisse, nec laudasse. Rem igitur tacito consensu approbavit. Atque ita concilianda sunt haec duo loca, quae Christophorus inter se pugnare existimavit. Sed & Rufinus eundem sensum secutus est, cum ita vertit: *Cumque factum Petrus postmodum cognovisset, licet fieri ipsum non jussisset, tamen factum non prohibuit.* Fortass autem Papias apertius locutus fuerat quam Clemens, & M rei Evangelium a Petro confirmatum fuisse dixerat. *Vales. ad L. vi. c. 14.*

A. D. " sent. Thus are these two places to be re-

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" conciled. . . . Moreover *Ruffin* took them
 " in this sense, translating thus: *When Peter*
 " afterwards knew what was done, although
 " he had not ordered it, yet when it was done,
 " he did not forbid it. But perhaps, says
 " *Valesius*, *Papias* had spoken more plainly
 " than *Clement*, and said, that *Mark's* Gos-
 " pel was confirmed by *Peter*."

So then *Valesius* abides by this last passage, as containing the justest account of what *Clement* had writ: in which I take him to be in the right. But neither had *Papias* said expressly, that *Mark's* Gospel was confirmed by *Peter*, as I have (q) shewn formerly; in that these words of *Eusebe* concerning *Papias* do not necessarily imply any such thing; and in that there is nothing like it in the very particular account, which *Eusebe* has given us of the testimonie of *Papias* to *Mark's* Gospel. To which I now add, that there is nothing like it in the account given of *Mark's* Gospel by *Irenaeus*, who was so well acquainted with the books of *Papias*. As to *Papias* therefore, the case appears to me very clear, that he had said no such thing.

I shall

(q) Ch. ix. p. 245.—249.

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I shall now endeavor to remove this difficulty in these several propositions.

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1.) The last passage of *Eusebe* does probably contain the most exact and distinct account of what *Clement* had writ concerning *St. Mark's Gospel*. In the first passage *Eusebe* writes in the quality of an historian, as from his memorie, in a continued narration of the affairs of *St. Peter*: and mentions an opinion, which he introduces with a proper distinction: *it is said*. And then adds: *Clement gives this account in the sixth book of his Institutions, and Papias agrees with him*: which words are plainly to be understood in a general way, that *Clement* writes to this purpose. At the writing of the last passage, *Eusebe* has *Clement* before him, and he quotes and transcribes him word for word.

2.) *It is Eusebe*, whom we are to reconcile, and not *Clement*, if there is any disagreement between these two accounts.

3.) These two accounts of *Eusebe* may be well reconciled in this manner.

(1.) *Eusebe* needs not be supposed to affirm in the first passage, that *Clement*, or *Papias* had said, that *Peter* did expressly authorise *Mark's Gospel*. All that *Eusebe* intends to ascribe to them may be supposed to be

A. D. ^{194.} be in the former part of that passage. Then he adds: *It is said* By which he may be reckoned to hint, that he there inserts the opinion of some of his own time, or perhaps of some anonymous writers before him. And those words, *it is said*, and what follows in that sentence, might be very well read in a parenthesis. This supposition is confirmed by the exact agreement of the full and particular accounts of the two testimonies of *Clement* and *Papias* with the former part of this passage of *Eusebe*.

(2.) And it may be said, that this very account is in the main agreeable to that in the third and last passage, containing only some emprovement of it. In this last passage it is said: *that Peter's hearers at Rome entreated Mark to write the things that had been spoken, and that when he had composed the Gospel, he delivered it to them who had asked it of him: which when Peter knew, he neither forbid it, nor encouraged it: that is, as Valesius well expresses it, he approved it by a tacit consent.* For though *Peter* did not expressly authorise it, yet by permitting it to be delivered to his hearers, or published, as a historie of his preaching, he allowed it to be a faithful and true narrative of what he had taught

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taught by word of mouth. This may have A. D.
194. been understood and represented by some, as amounting to an authorising of that Gospel, according to what *Eusebe* observes in the first passage: *It is said, that when the Apostle knew what had been done, he was pleased with the zeal of the men, and authorised that writing to be read in the churches.*

I think, these two accounts are thus well reconciled.

Nevertheless I entreat the reader's patience, whilst I examine afresh a part of this last passage, which appears somewhat obscure, and which I have already thus translated. *Clement* says: that many of Peter's bearers entreated Mark to write the things which had been spoken, and (r) that when he had composed the Gospel, he delivered it to them who had asked it of him: which when Peter knew, he neither forbid it, nor encouraged it. I now propose another translation to be considered. *The occasion of the writing the Gospel according to Mark was this: Peter (s) having*

(r) The learned reader, if he thinks fit, is referred to the *Greek* before transcribed, p. 472. The version of *Valesius* is thus: *Marcus igitur evangelium composuit, iisque qui illud ab ipso rogabant impertiit. Quod cum Petrus comperisset, nec prohibuit omnino rem fieri, nec ut fieret incitavit.*

(s) The translation of *Wolfgangus Musculus* is thus: *Cum Petrus*

A. D. 194. *having publicly preached the word at Rome, and having spoken the gospel by the Spirit; many who were there entreated Mark to write the things that had been spoken, he having long accompanied him, [Peter] and retaining what he had said: and when he had composed it, to deliver it to them that had asked it of him: which when Peter knew, he neither forbid it, nor advised it.*

According to the sense of the first translation, it seems that *Peter* knew nothing of this request of his hearers, or the work of *Mark*, till that Gospel was both composed and delivered: and when he knew what had been done, he permitted the whole to pass without any express approbation or dislike. According to the sense of the second translation, *St. Peter*, by revelation of the Spirit, or some other information, knew of the request of his hearers, to have a Gospel written and delivered to them, before they had actually received it from *St. Mark*. He might therefore have seen and read the Gospel, before

Petrus Romae publice praedicaret verbum, & evangelium Spiritu promulgaret, multos praesentium Marcum, tanquam eum qui Apostolo jam diu fuisset affectator, dictorumque illius ad huc recordaretur, rogasse, ut quae dicta ab illo essent, conscriberet, conscriptumque evangelium illis daret, qui hoc ab ipso peterent. Hoc ubi Petro innotuisset, illum nec prohibuisse, nec jussisse.

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fore it was delivered and published. And his *A. D.*
not forbidding or advising will relate chiefly to ^{194.}
the publication of it. He therefore permitted it to be delivered, which amounts to a tacit approbation of that Gospel, as a faithful historie of what he had said. So *Theophylact* seems to have understood it, if he refers to this place. For he says: *It was revealed to Peter by God, that Mark had writ a Gospel. Having seen it, and confirmed it as true, he sent him away to be Bishop in Egypt.* So the opinion, mentioned by *Eusebe* in his first passage, was, that *when Peter knew what had been done, (that the Gospel had been writ) the Spirit revealing it to him, he authorised that writing, to be read in the churches: or, approved it by a tacit consent.*

In a word, according to each of these interpretations this Gospel is represented to have a tacit, or implicit approbation of *Peter*. If he did not know of it, till after it was delivered by *Mark*; yet he owns it to be a faithful historie, by not discountenancing, or disallowing it. If he saw it, and read it, before it was published; he also approves it, though he did not command or advise the publication, since he did not forbid it.

K k

Perhaps

A. D.
194.

Perhaps it will be here observed by some, that this account does not agree with that given (t) by *Irenaeus*, who says, that *Mark* wrote his Gospel after the exit of *Peter* and *Paul*. But my present concern is to represent, as I am able, the testimonie of *Clement*. If there are any differences between the testimonies of several writers, they may be better considered at some other time.

It may be likewise objected, that there are several things very strange and unlikely in this account. The Christians at *Rome*, hearers of *St. Peter*, are represented as applying in a clandestin manner to *St. Mark*, to afford them a written Gospel. *St. Mark* too is hardly persuaded to undertake this work, and consents not without much entreaty. And at last, when it is composed, the Apostle *Peter* does not advise or command the publication.

To which I answer, that there is nothing improbable in this whole relation, excepting only the revelation given to *Peter* of the fact, that *Mark* had written a Gospel: which *Eusebe* has not delivered to us, as a relation of *Clement*, but as a common report, or doubtful

(t) See Ch. xvii. p. 354.

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194.

ful opinion of some of his own time, or perhaps also of some before him. Every other part of this historie may be accounted for from the great humility and modestie of the Apostle *Peter*. The Christians then at *Rome* were desirous of a written relation of the things they had heard, which might be a perpetual help to their memorie, and of constant use among them. But considering the before-mentioned virtues of that Apostle, which they were well acquainted with, they were afraid to petition him directly for such a thing: and were even apprehensive, that if they did, he might prohibit it. They therefore in the most private manner apply themselves to *St. Mark*. And he knowing the uncommon humility of *St. Peter*, as well, or better than any man, is afraid to comply with the request made to him, least he should offend the person, for whom he had the highest respect. At length he yields to perform what was desired. But still conceals his undertaking from *St. Peter*, as much as possible. However, by some unforeseen method, which scarce any man could account for, the thing was discovered to *Peter*: who, when he knew the writing had been

A. D. composed, did not expressly direct the publication, nor yet forbid it.

This is the sum of this relation, and these seem to be the grounds and reasons of the conduct of the several persons here mentioned. And the Gospel, called according to St. Mark, which in this account is represented as the substance of St. Peter's preaching, is a monument of the humility and modestie here ascribed to that Apostle; *there being in the Gospel Historie several very remarkable circumstances in favour of St. Peter, which are related by the other Evangelists, and not so much as mentioned or hinted at by St. Mark.* This is an observation of Mr. (u) Jones, who has given a Catalogue of the several places in the other Gospels, which relate things tending to the honour of St. Peter, which are not mentioned by St. Mark in his Gospel. Nor has he forgot to mention an observation of Estius to the like purpose, concerning the Apostle Peter's modestie.

Remarks
upon those
Passages.

IV. Having considered these difficulties, and removed them so far as I am able, we are now to make some remarks of another kind.

I. Here

(u) *New and full Method of settling the canonical authority of the N. T. V. 3. p. 78—81.*

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1. Here is a very valuable testimonie to the four Gospels of St. *Matthew*, St. *Mark*, St. *Luke*, and St. *John*, all which were owned and received by *Clement*. Moreover here is a tradition concerning the order in which these four Gospels were writ, which he had received from Presbyters of more ancient times. It affords a proof of the curiosity and inquisitivenesse of the ancient Christians concerning the sacred books of the New Testament, which they had received.

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194.

Four Gospels.

2. We have here an assurance of the genuinenesse of the Genealogies in the first chapter of St. *Matthew*, and the third chapter of St. *Luke*. This likewise *Clement* had received from more ancient Presbyters. This testimonie to the first chapter of St. *Matthew's* Gospel is so strong, that it seems to put the antiquity and genuinenesse of it out of question.

The Genealogies.

3. Here is a particular account of the occasion of writing St. *Mark's* Gospel. And it agrees with those of *Papias* and *Irenaeus*, in that this Gospel is said to contain the substance of St. *Peter's* preaching, and to have been composed by one who had been long a companion, or follower of *Peter*, and who

Mark.

A. D. retained in his memorie the things that had
 194. been spoken by that Apostle.

This then is (c) the third ancient Father, who puts the authority of *St. Mark's Gospel* upon the foundation of it's being a faithful and true narrative of the Apostle *Peter's* public discourses to his hearers. Nor let any therefore be in pain for the credit and authority of this Gospel, though not writ, nor expressly authoris'd by an Apostle. The authority of it seems to be very well maintained by these writers, especially by *Clement* in this account. *Peter* spoke the Gospel by the Spirit. *Mark* had long and often heard him, at *Rome*, and at other places, and remembered the things he had spoke. He wrote his Gospel at the request of many hearers of *Peter* at *Rome*, and then delivered it to them who asked it of him. These persons who set so great a value on *Peter's* discourses, and were not contented with a single hearing, and unwritten instruction, could not but know, whether the written Gospel, which they received from *Mark*, was agreeable to the words they had lately heard from

(c) *Papias*. ch. ix. p. 245. . . . 249. *Irenaeus* ch. xviii. p. 353. 396.

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from *Peter*. It is by no means reasonable to ^{A. D.} suppose, that *Mark* could form a design of ^{194.} deceiving or imposing upon any. Here is however an additional argument for the truth and exactness of his narration, that it was delivered, when composed, to those who had heard *Peter* preach, of which there was a considerable number. Lastly, it is here intimated, that the Apostle *Peter* himself knew of this Gospel, either before it was published, or soon after. And though he did not advise the publication, nor recommend the Gospel, when published; yet he did not forbid the publication, nor disallow of it afterwards: which amounts to a tacit, or implicit approbation of it, and a confirmation of the truth of it, as containing a just relation of his preaching. There is, according to this account, the fullest security given, that *Mark's* written Gospel contains the very gospel, which the Apostle *Peter* had spoken by the Spirit.

It will be very proper to put down here a passage, or note of the *Adumbrations* before-mentioned, which we have in a *Latin* translation made by *Cassiodorius*, or his order.

“ *There (x) saluteth you Mark my son.* [1

K k 4

“ *Pet.*

A. D. 194. “ Pet. v. 14.] *Mark* the follower of *Peter*,
 “ *Peter* preaching the gospel at *Rome* before
 “ some of the Emperour’s Knights, and
 “ and giving many testimonies to Christ,
 “ that the things which had been spoken,
 “ might be well fixed in their memorie,
 “ composed out of the things spoken by
 “ *Peter* the Gospel which is called according
 “ to *Mark*: As *Luke* also wrote the *Acts* of
 “ the *Apostles*, and translated the epistle of
 “ *Paul* to the *Hebrews*.” Or, possibly, these
 last words should be thus understood: As
Luke also wrote a Gospel, and likewise the
Acts of the Apostles, and translated the epistle
 of *Paul* to the *Hebrews*.

This likewise confirms the account, that
 St. *Mark*’s Gospel is the substance of St. *Peter*’s
 sermons. And he says nothing of it’s
 having been afterwards authorised by *Peter*,
 nor so much as it’s having been ever seen by
 him.

{x} *Salutat vos Marcus filius meus.* [ver. 14.] *Marcus* *Petri* sectator, palam praedicante *Petro* Evangelium *Romae* coram quibusdam *Caesareanis* equitibus, & multa Christi testimonia proferente, penitus ab eis ut possent quae dicebantur memoriae commendare, scripsit ex his quae *Petro* dicta sunt, Evangelium quod secundum *Marcum* vocitatur. Sicut *Lucas* quoque, & actus *Apostolorum* stylo executus agnosceret, & *Pauli* ad *Hebraeos* interpretatus epistolam. *Clement. Adumbrat. in 1 Petr. Epist.* Oxon. p. 1007.

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him. It is true, *Cassiodorus* left out (y) A. D.
194. some things of *St. Clement*, that might give offense. But certainly these things would not have offended, or hurt any man.

It is not very improbable, that *Cassiodorus* had here before him that very historie in *Clement*, which *Eusebe* has preserved: wherein it is said, that *Peter* neither forbid, nor encouraged, or recommended what *Mark* had done in this affair: or some other account to the like purpose. But that did not thoroughly please *Cassiodorus*, and therefore he left it out. But whether we guess right here, or not, I cannot help wishing, that we had entire the Institutions of *Clement*, a writer (D) near in time (z) to the immediate successors of the Apostles. I do not believe, that work would do us any harm.

4. Of *St. John* he says, that he wrote *John*. last. He likewise supposes him to have seen and approved the other three Gospels. *St. John* having observed what the other Evangelists

(y) Ubi multa quidem subtiliter, sed aliqua incaute locutus est: quae nos ita transferri fecimus in Latinum, ut exclusis quibusdam offendiculis purificata doctrina ejus securior posset hauriri. *Cassiod. Divin. Lect. Cap. viii.*

(D) See the historie of *St. Clement*, p. 463.

(z) ὅτι ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ δηλοῖ, ὡς ἔγγιστα τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων γενομένης διαδοχῆς. *Euseb. H. E. l. vi. c. 13. p. 215. A.*

A. D.
194. } gelists had written, added in his Gospel some things omitted by the others. The occasion of his writing was the persuasion of his friends, and moreover he was moved by the Spirit.

Acts. 5. The *Acts of the Apostles* also is owned by him, and ascribed to *Luke* as the author, who likewise translated the epistle to the *Hebrews*.

Hebrews. 6. The Epistle to the *Hebrews* is owned for *Paul's*. And *Clement* had been informed, that it was writ in *Hebrew*. He had received likewise a tradition, giving an account of the reason, why that Apostle did not set his name to this, as he did to his other epistles.

7. *Clement* was a Commentator of the scriptures. *Eusebe* says, that in his *Institutions* he had given short explications of all the canonical scripture. *Photius* however seems to render this doubtful in the account he gives of the same work. He says, “ the
“ (a) *Institutions of Clement* contain dis-
“ courses on some passages of the Old and
“ New Testament, which he also explains
“ and interprets in a brief and summarie
“ manner.”

(a) “Αἱ μὲν οὖν ὑποτυπώσεις διαλαμβάνουσι περὶ ῥητῶν τινῶν τῆς τε παλαιᾶς καὶ νέας γραφῆς. αὐτὴ καὶ κεφαλαιωδῶς, ὡς δὴθεν, ἐξηγήσιν τε καὶ ἐρμηνείαν ποιεῖται. Cod. cix.

"manner." This indeed does not restrain *Clement's* Commentaries to any particular books of Scripture. For he might explain some passages in every book, without explaining the whole of any one. But *Photius* says afterwards: "The whole (*b*) scope of the work seems to be an interpretation of *Genesis*, *Exodus*, the *Psalms*, the *Epistles* of the Divine *Paul*, and the Catholic *Epistles*, and *Ecclesiasticus*." Which may well render it doubtful, whether *Clement* had commented upon all the books of Scripture: or rather, it affords good ground to conclude, that *Clement* had explained only some books of the Old, and of the New Testament. And so, it is likely, *Eusebe* ought to be understood. For *Photius* seems to have had before him entire the *Hypotyposes* of *Clement*, in which these expositions were.

8. Lastly, *Eusebe* says, *Clement* had given in that work short explications of the Scriptures, not omitting those that are contradicted; as the epistle of *Jude*, and the other Catholic epistles, and the epistle of *Barnabas*, and the book called the *Revelation* of *Peter*. But I think

(*b*) Ὁ δὲ ὅλος σκοπὸς, ὡσανεὶ ἐρμηνεῖαι τυγχάνουσι τῆς γενέσεως, τῆς ἐξόδου, τῶν ψαλμῶν, τῶν θείων Πάυλου τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, καὶ τῶν καθολικῶν, καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν. *ibid.*

A. D. think it does not hence follow, that *Clement*
 194. paid a like, or equal respect to all these books.
Le Clerc in our time has writ notes upon the
 writings of the Apostolical Fathers, as well
 as upon the books of Scripture, commonly
 received as Canonical, without having the
 same regard for the former, as for these later.
 But of this we shall see more hereafter. For
 having thus shewn, what *Eusebe*, and some
 other ancients have observed of *St. Clement's*
 method of quoting Scripture, I shall briefly
 observe upon his remaining works.

*Four Gof-
pels.*

V. In his *Stromata*, or Various Discourses,
 he says in answer to an objection: “ We (c)
 “ have not this passage in the four Gospels
 “ delivered to us, but in that according to
 “ *Egyptians*.”

The four Gospels are often quoted. I
 shall put down a particular or two of each.

Matthew.

I. “ In (d) the Gospel according to
 “ *Matthew* the genealogie from *Abraham* is
 “ brought down to *Marie* the mother of
 “ the Lord.”

2. In

(c) Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ἐν τοῖς παραδεδωμένοις ἡμῖν τέτταρ-
 σιν εὐαγγελίοις ἢ ἔχομεν τὸ ῥητὸν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ κατ’ Αἰγυπ-
 τίας. Str. L. 3. p. 465. D.

(d) Ἐν δὲ τῷ κατὰ Ματθαίου εὐαγγελίῳ ἡ ἀπὸ Ἀβραάμ
 γενεαλογία, μέχρι Μαρίας τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ κυρίου περαιεῖται.
 Str. L. 1. p. 341. B.

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2. In the three larger works of Clement, *A. D.*
the *Exhortation to the Gentils*, the *Pedagogue*, ^{194.}
and the *Stromata*, the Gospel of St. Mark *Mark.*
is not quoted by name, though there are divers
passages taken from it. But in the short
treatise, *Who is the rich man that may be sav-*
ed, having quoted the words of Mark x.
17—31. he adds; “ *These (e) things are*
“ written in the Gospel according to Mark.”

3. “ The (f) truth of this is evident. *Luke.*
“ For thus it is written in the Gospel accord-
“ ing to *Luke*: *Now in the fifteenth year of*
“ *the reign of Tiberius Cesar the word of the*
“ *Lord came unto John the son of Zacharias.*”
Ch. iii. 1. 2.

4. “ The (g) Lord in the Gospel accord- *John.*
“ ing to *John* speaks figuratively: *Eat my*
“ *flesh*, saith he, *and drink my blood.*” Refer-
ring to Ch. vi. 53. 54.

5. We should here just take notice of an *An Obser-*
observation of *Clement*: That there were *vation.*
some, who had writ short marginal notes or
interlinearie explications of texts of the
New

(e) Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγελίῳ γέγραπται.
Quis div. &c. §. 5. p. 938. Oron.

(f) “Οτι δὲ τῶν ἀληθῆς ἐστίν, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τῷ κατὰ
Λουκᾶν γέγραπται οὕτως· κ. λ. p. 340. *A. Str. L. i.*

(g) Ἀλλαχόθι δὲ κ. κύριον ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίῳ,
κ. λ. *Paed. L. i. p. 100. A.*

A. D. ^{194.} New Testament, or at least of the Gospels. This seems to be what he means, when he says: “ Blessed (*b*) are they “ which are persecuted for righteousnesse “ sake, because they shall be called the sons “ of God: [see Matt. v. 9. 10.] or, as some “ of those who explain [or paraphrase] the “ Gospels: *Blessed*, says he, *are they, which “ are persecuted by righteousnesse*, BECAUSE “ THEY SHALL BE PERFECT. And, “ *Blessed are they which are persecuted for “ my sake*, BECAUSE THEY SHALL HAVE “ A PLACE, WHERE NO PERSECUTION “ REACHES.” I only put down this passage. *Mill*, who is in every bodies hands, may (*i*) be consulted upon it.

Acts.

VI. The book of the *Acts of the Apostles* is often quoted in these works. It is ascribed to St. *Luke* thus: “ As (*k*) *Luke* in the *Acts* “ of the Apostles records *Paul* to have said: “ *Ye men of Athens, I perceive, that in “ all things ye are too superstitious.*” quoting Ch. xvii. 22. 23.

VII.

(*b*) Ἡ ὡς τινὲς τῶν μετατιθέντων τὰ εὐαγγέλια, κ. λ. Str. L. iv. p. 490. D.

(*i*) *Prolegom* ad N. T. n. 287. 640.

(*k*) Καθὼ καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀπομνημονεύει τὸν Παῦλον λέγοντα· Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κ. λ. *Strom* L. v. p. 588. A.

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VII. I shall give the following account of his quoting St. Paul's epistles. A. D. 194.

1. "The (l) Apostle in the epistle to the *Romans*." Ch. xvi. 19. "Behold (m) therefore, faith Paul, the goodnesse and severity of God, &c." Ch. xi. 22. "In (n) like manner writes Paul in the epistle to the *Romans*." Ch. vi. 2. 6—13.

2. "The (o) blessed Paul in the first *Corinth* epistle to the *Corinthians*: Brethren, be not children in understanding: Howbeit, in malice be ye children, but in understanding be men." Ch. xiv. 20. And in like manner frequently.

3. He has also many passages out of the second epistle to the *Corinthians*. "The Apostle calls (p) the common doctrine of the faith a *savour of knowledge*, in the second to the *Corinthians*." [see Ch. ii. 14.] where he also proceeds to quote 2 Cor. iii.

14.

(l) Ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολῇ, χαίρειν ὁ Ἀπόστολος λέγει. κ. λ. Paed. L. i. p. 89. B. C.

(m) Ἴδε οὖν, φησὶν ὁ Παῦλος. κ. λ. p. 117. C.

(n) Ομοίως, δὲ καὶ ὁ Παῦλος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολῇ γράφει. Str. L. iii. p. 457. B.

(o) Σαφές αἶσα γένεο μακάριος Παῦλος ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολῇ. Paed. L. i. p. 96. D.

(p) Τὴν δὲ κοινὴν διδασκαλίαν τῆς πίστεως, ὁσμήν γνώσεως ἔφηκεν, ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ πρὸς Κορινθίους. Strom. L. iv. p. 514. A.

A. D. 14. Again: "Hence also (q) Paul: Ye
 194. "have these promises, says he, dearly Belov-
 "ed: Let us cleanse our hearts from all fil-
 "thiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting
 "holiness in the fear of God." 2 Cor.
 vii. 1.

Galat. 4. "Wherefore also (r) Paul writing to the
 "Galatians says: My little children, of whom
 "I travel in birth again, until Christ be
 formed in you." This epistle is also frequent-
 ly cited, as the *Apostle's*, as *Paul's*.

Ephes. 5. "Wherefore (s) the Blessed Apostle:
 "I testify in the Lord, says he, that ye walk
 "not as other Gentils walk." Eph. iv. 17.
 18. 19. in another place: "Wherefore (t)
 "in the epistle to the *Ephesians* he writes:
 "Submitting yourselves one to another in the
 "fear of God, &c." Eph. v. 21. 22.

Philip. 6. "When Paul (u) confesseth of him-
 "self: Not as though I had already attained,
 "either

(q) "Οθεν κ' ὁ Παῦλος Τάυτας οὖν ἔχειε τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, φησὶν, ἀγαπητοί· καθαρίσωμεν ἑαυτῶν τὰς καρδίας, κ. λ. *Strom.* L. iii. p. 456. D.

(r) Διὸ κ' Παῦλος Γαλάταις ἐπιστέλλων, φησί· Τεκνία μου, κ. λ. *Str.* 4. p. 468. B.

(s) Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος· μαρτύρομαι ἐν κυρίῳ, φησὶν, κ. λ. *Adm. ad G.* p. 54. A. B.

(t) Διὸ κ' ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑφεσίους γράφει. κ. λ. *Str.* L. iv. p. 499. C.

(u) Αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖν τῷ Παύλῳ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ· ἔχ' ὅτι ἤδη ἔλαβον, κ. λ. *Paed.* L. i. p. 107. D.

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"either were already perfect, &c." Philip. ^{A. D. 194.}
12.—14. He quotes (x) part of the first and second chapters of this epistle, as expressly concerning the *Philippians*. He quotes it again in this manner: "The (y) Apostle also of the Lord exhorting the *Macedonians*, says: *The Lord is at hand*, take heed that we be not found empty." Philip. iv. 5.

7. The epistle (z) to the *Colossians* is often ^{Coloss.} quoted by *Clement*, expressly with that title, as the *Apostle's*, or as *Paul's*.

8. "This the (a) Blessed *Paul* plainly ^{1 Thess.} signified, saying: *When we might have been burdensome as the Apostles of Christ*, we were gentle among you, even as a nurse cherisheth her children." 1 Thess. ii. 6. 7. Words of this epistle are quoted by him several times, as the *Apostle's*.

9. "And the (b) Apostle says: *There is* ^{2 Thess.} L 1 "not

(x) Τὰς Φιλιππησίους συμμετόχους τῆς χάριτος καλῶν. Str. L. 4. p. 511. A.

(y) Ταύτη καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος τῷ κυρίου, παρακαλῶν τὸς Μακεδόνας. . . . Ὁ κύριος ἠγγικεν, λέγων· εὐλαβεῖσθε μὴ καταληφθῶμεν κενόι. Adm. ad Gent. p. 56. B.

(z) Καὶ τῇ πρὸς Κολοσσαεῖς ἐπιστολῇ. Str. L. i. p. 277. B. vid. L. 4. p. 499. D. L. 5. p. 576. C. L. 6. p. 645. D.

(a) Τὸ τοι σαρξέστατος ὁ μακάριος Πάυλος ὑπεσημνήνατο, ἵπταν· Δυναίμενοι ἐν ἑαίρει εἶναι ὡς χριστὸς ἀπόστολοι, κ. λ. Paed. L. i. p. 89. A.

(b) Καὶ οὐκ ἐν πάσι, φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἡ γνώσις προσευχέσθε δέ, κ. λ. Str. L. 5. p. 554. A.

A. D. "not in every man that knowledge. [1 Cor. 194. viii. 7.] But pray ye, that we may be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men: for all men have not faith." 2 Thess. iii. 2. I think, this is the only place, in which this epistle is quoted by Clement.

1 & 2 Tim. 10. "Of which (c) the Apostle writing, says: O *Timothie*, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called: which some professing have erred concerning the faith. [1 Tim. vi. 20. 21.] The heretics confuted by this saying, reject the epistles to *Timothie*." This alone amounts to a strong assertion of the genuineness of two epistles of the Apostle to *Timothie*. Moreover he has frequently quoted words of the second epistle. And mentions it (d) expressly as *Paul's*.

Titus. 11. The epistle to *Titus* is also quoted several times. And he observes, "that (e) *Paul* had cited *Epimenides* the *Cretian* in his

(c) Περὶ ἧς ἀπόστολος γράφων, Ὁ τιμόθεε, φησὶν, . . . ὑπὸ ταύτης ἐλεγχόμενοι τῆς φωνῆς οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν αἱρέσεων, τὸ πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἀθετῶσιν ἐπιστολάς. Str. L. 2. p. 383. C.

(d) Ἐν τῇ ἐτέρᾳ πρὸς Τιμόθεον ἐπιστολῇ ὁ γενναῖος διατάσσεται Πάυλος. Strom. 1. 3. p. 448. C.

(e) Οἱ δὲ Ἐπιμενίδην τὸν Κρήτα . . . οὗ μέμνηται ὁ ἀπόστολος Πάυλος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Τίτον ἐπιστολῇ. κ. λ. Str. L. i. p. 299. B. C.

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“ his epistle to *Titus*, after this manner: *A. D.*

“ *One of themselves, a poet of their own, said:* 194.

“ *The Cretians are alwaies liars, &c.*” *Tit.*

i. 12. 13.

12. The epistle to *Philemon* is no where *Philemon*.
quoted in the remaining works of *Clement*.
This may be ascribed to it's brevity.

13. We have already seen enough in a *Hebrews*.
passage of *Eusebe*, taken chiefly from the
Institutions of Clement, to satisfy us, that
Clement received the epistle to the *Hebrews*,
as *Paul's*. Nevertheless it will not be im-
proper to observe a passage or two in his re-
maining works, in confirmation of what has
been said by *Eusebe*. “ Nor does (*f*) *Paul*,
“ (says *Clement* in his *Stromata*,) appear to
“ have blamed philosophic in his epistles,
“ though he would not have the more perfect
“ return to it.... Wherefore writing to the
“ *Hebrews*, who were declining from the
“ Faith to the Lawe: *Have ye need*, says
“ he, *that one teach you again, which be the*
“ *first principles of the oracles of God, and*
“ *are become such as have need of milk, and*

L 1 2

“ not

(*f*) Επει κὶ Παῦλος ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἡ φιλοσοφίαν δια-
βάλλον φάνεται. . . . διὸ καὶ τοῖς Εβραίοις γράφων, τοῖς ἐπα-
νακάμπτουσιν εἰς νόμον ἐκ πίστεως, ἡ πάλιν, φησὶ, χρεῖαν
ἔχετε τῆ διδασκείας ὑμᾶς ; ἄρα καὶ τοῖς ἐξ Ἑλλήνων ἐπι-
σφύρουσι Κολασσαεῦσι. κ. λ. Str. L. vi. p. 645. C. D.

A. D. "not of strong of meat? [Hebr. v. 12.] In
 194. "like manner to the *Colossians*, converted
 "from Gentilism: *Beware, lest any spoil*
 "you through philosophic and vain deceit...."
 [Col. ii. 8.] Thus he expressly ascribes the
 epistle to the *Hebrews* to *Paul*, and to the
 same person, who wrote that to the *Colossians*.
 And in many other places of these works he
 quotes (g) the epistle to the *Hebrews*, as
 the *Apostles*, the *Divine Apostle's*, and
Paul's.

The Ca-
 tholic Epi-
 stles.

VIII. Thus we have gone over the epistles
 of *Paul*. We proceed next to the seven epi-
 stles, called *Catholic*. And I think it best to
 be very particular here, to see how far the
 remaining works of *Clement* confirm, or dis-
 agree with the account given by *Eusebe*.

James.

1. Having quoted Is. xl. 6. 7. 8. *All flesh*
is as grass, the flower fadeth.... and Jer.
 xiii. 24.... *Clement* proceeds: "This (b) is
 "the flower of the grass, and to walk ac-
 "cording to the flesh, and to be carnal ac-
 "cording to the Apostle, as they are who
 "are in their sins." Compare *James* i. 10.

But

(g) *Strom.* Lib. 2. p. 362. B. p. 364. A. p. 420. B. C.
 Lib. 4. p. 514. C. D. 515. A. & *alibi*.

(b) Τὸ το γὰρ τὸ αὐθιγὸν τῆς χόρτης, κ. λ. *Str.* L. 4. p. 540.
 B. [Oxon. p. 639.]

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But the rich, in that he is made low : because as the flower of the grasse he shall pass away. A. D. 194.

But I perceive here no reference to St. James.

It is an obvious comparison enough. Besides, it is also in *Isaiab*, whom *Clement* had quoted : and also in 1 *Pet.* i. 24. *To be carnal according to the Apostle*, is a reference to *St. Paul*.

James ii. 8. *If Ye fulfill the royal law according to the scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, ye do well.* *Clement* having quoted *Matth.* v. 20. adds : “ that “ it is not sufficient to abstain from evil : for “ unless (i) ye become more perfect, so as to “ love your neighbour, and be able to do “ good, ye will not be royal.” This may be thought by some a reference to the above-mentioned text of *St. James*. But to love our neighbour is a frequent precept of the New Testament : and in the phrase, being royal, I rather think he refers to the *Stoic* maxim, that a wise man only is a King. The title of the sixth chapter of the third book of *Clement's* *Pedagogue* is, that a *Christian* only is a rich man.

L 1 3

James

(i) Συν τῷ μετὰ τῆς ἐν τέτοις τελειώσεως, καὶ τὰ τὸν πλὴν σίου ἀγαπᾶν, καὶ ἐνεργετῶν δύνασθαι ἐκ ἑσέσθε βασιλικοί. *Str.* lib. 6. p. 696. B. [*Oxon.* p. 825.]

A. D. 194. *James* ii. 23. says: *Abraham was called the friend of God.* Clement has the same observation (k) several times. But there is no evidence, that he took it from St. *James*. It is more likely, that he borrowed it from the Old Testament. See before in St. *Clement* of Rome. Ch. ii. n. 38.

Clement has twice (l) observed, “ that the Scripture says: *God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble:*” which words are likewise in *James* ii. 6. But they are also in 1 *Pet.* v. 5. and *Prov.* iii. 14.

James v. 12. *But above all things, my brethren, swear not: . . . but (m) let your yea, be yea: and your nay, nay.* “ Again, says (n) Clement, that is to be compared with the Lord’s saying: *Let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay.*” Which words are indeed extremely agreeable to those in *James*. But he quotes them not as his, but *Christ’s*, and must therefore be supposed to refer to *Matth.*

(k) *Paed.* L. 3. p. 221. A. [*Ox.* p. 259.] *ib.* p. 238. C. [*Ox.* p. 279.] *Str.* l. 2. p. 367. C. [*Ox.* p. 439.]

(l) *Str.* L. 3. p. 446. C. [*Ox.* p. 533.] L. 4. p. 516. D. [*Ox.* p. 611.]

(m) Ἦτω δὲ ὑμῶν τὸ ναὶ, ναὶ καὶ τὸ ᾔ, ᾔ.

(n) Πάλιν αὖ τὸ τῆ κυρίου ῥητῶ, Ἐσω ὑμῶν τὸ ναὶ, ναὶ καὶ τὸ οὐ, οὐ, ἐκὼς ἀπεικασέον. *Str.* L. v. p. 596. C. [*Oxon.* p. 707.]

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(o) *Matth.* v. 37. In another place he says : A. D.

"It is the (p) epitome of justice to say : 194.

"Your yea shall be yea, and your nay, nay."

He refers likewise (q) once more to the same precept : But without any particular intimation, whence he takes it.

Clement has also this expression, that "Charity (r) covers a multitude of sins." But there is no reason to suppose, he refers to *James* v. 20. He takes it as from *Clement of Rome*, his description of charity : the main part of which we before transcribed, Ch. ii. numb. 13. and 41. And these words are also in *1 Pet.* iv. 8.

Upon the whole, I perceive not in *St. Clement* any quotation of the epistle of *St. James*, or any allusion or reference to it, that can be depended upon.

Since the writing of this, I have observed, that *Clement of Alexandria* is not mentioned by Mr. (s) *Richardson* among those Fathers, who have quoted the epistle of *St. James* :

L 1 4

nor

(o) Εἰς δὲ ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν, Ναὶ ναὶ, Οὐ οὐ.

(p) Δικαιοσύνης γὰρ ἡν ἐπιτομή φαναι. Ἐσαι ὑμῶν τὸ ναὶ ναὶ, καὶ οὐ οὐ : *Str.* l. 7. p. 739. A. [*Ox.* p. 872.]

(q) *Ibid.* p. 729. A. [*Oxon.* p. 861.]

(r) *Str.* 4. p. 518. [*Oxon.* p. 613.]

(s) See the *Canon of the N. T. vindicated.* p. 42. the third edit.

A. D. ^{194.} nor by *Huet* (t), nor by *Tillemont* (u). The same thing may be said, it is likely, of other learned moderns, if consulted.

1 *Peter*. 2. The first epistle of *Peter* is often quoted by *Clement*: “ But (x) and if we suffer “ for righteousness sake, says *Peter*, we are “ happy. And be not afraid of their terrour “ neither be troubled: . . .” 1 Pet. iii. 14. 15. 16. 17. Again: “ And (y) *Peter* says the “ like things in his epistle.” I put down in the margin (z) a few more places, where this epistle is expressly quoted as *Peter*’s.

2 *Peter*. 3. 2 Pet. ii. 2. And many shall follow their pernicious ways, by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of. *Clement* says: “ Cease (a) to obstruct the way of truth.” But this is also an old Testament phrase. Pl. cxix. 30. Here is no sign of a reference to *Peter*. This is the only place in the remaining works of *Clement*, which I have observed

to

(t) *Demonstr. Ev. Prop.* i. §. 12. p. 25. *Paris*. 1690.

(u) *Mem. Ec. T. i. S. Faque le Mineur.* not. XV.

(x) *Str.* l. 4. p. 493. A.

(y) Καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τὰ ὁμοῖα λέγει. ib. l. 3. p. 473. B.

(z) *Paed.* l. i. p. 103. A. l. 2. p. 258. D. Διὸ καὶ ὁ θαυμάσιος Πέτρος φησὶν: *Str.* L. 3. p. 457. A. l. 4. p. 493. B. ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ φησὶ. p. 525. C.

(a) Καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐμποδίζοντες. *Adm. ad Gent.* p. 66. C.

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to have any relation to the second epistle of *A. D.*
Peter. In the *Oxford* edition of this Father, ^{194.}
by mistake, is put 2 *Pet.* iv. 8. for 1 *Pet.*
iv. 8. both in the *Index* at the end, and in
the work itself at p. 306.

4. The first epistle of *John* is often quoted. ^{1 & 2 *Job.*}
“ *This (b) is the love of God, says John, that*
“ *we keep his commandments. And his com-*
“ *mandments are not grievous.*” 1 *John* v. 3.
It is quoted as *John's* (c) several times. And
once in this manner: “ *John (d) also in*
“ *his larger epistle seems to shew the diffe-*
“ *rence of sins: If any man see his brother*
“ *sin a sin, which is not unto death.*” 1
John v. 16. It is plain therefore he knew
and owned one more epistle of St. *John*, and
possibly two more: which he ascribed not to
John the Elder, but to *John* the Apostle; the
same who is the author of the first, or larger
epistle. But I do not perceive any reference
to either of these two epistles in his works.
It is without ground, as I apprehend, that in
the *Oxford* edition there is (e) marked a refe-
rence

(b) *Paed.* l. 3. p. 257. B.

(c) p. 264. D. 444. D. 445. A. 514. B.

(d) Φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης ἐν τῇ μέζονι ἐπιστολῇ, τὰς δια-
φορὰς τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν διδάσκων ἐν τέτοις. κ. λ. Str. L. 2. p.
389. B.

(e) *Paed.* l. 2. p. 203. [*Paris.* p. 173. C.]

A. D. ^{194.} *rence to 3 John ver. 15: or, as in our English Bibles, ver. 14. Peace be to thee.*
Jude.

5. The epistle of St. *Jude* is several times quoted as his: "*I will that ye (f) should know, says Jude, that God having once saved the people out of the land of Egypt.*" *Jude* ver. 5. 6. and 11. But *Clement* quotes from his memorie. Again: Of these (g) "and the like heretics, I think, *Jude* spoke prophetically in his epistle: *Likewise also these dreamers.*" ver. 8. — 16.

In the Adumbrations upon the epistle of St. *Jude*, as we now have them in *Latin*, is an observation concerning the modestie of the writer: "That * *Jude* did not stile himself at the begining of his epistle, brother of the Lord, though he was related to him, but *Jude the servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James.*" Which observation may serve to shew, whom *Clement* took

to

(f) Ἐιδέναι γὰρ ὑμᾶς, φησὶν ὁ Ἰούδας, βέλόμεναι, κ. λ. *Paed.* l. 3. p. 239. c.

(g) Ἐπὶ τέτων οἶμαι . . . προσηκῶς Ἰόσαν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ εἰρηκέναι. *Str.* l. 3. p. 431. A. B.

* Judas, qui catholicam scripsit epistolam, frater filiorum Joseph, extans valde religiosus, quum sciret propinquitatem Domini, non tamen dixit, se ipsum fratrem ejus esse. Sed quid dixit? *Jacobus servus Jesu Christi*, utpote Domini, frater autem *Jacobi*. *Vid. Adumbr. in Ep. Judae ep. Clem. A.* p. 1007. *Ed. Oxon.*

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to be the writer of this epistle. See *Matth.* A. D. xiii. 55. *Mark* xv. 40. 194.

6. We have seen then in *St. Clement's* remaining works quotations of the first epistle of *Peter*, the first epistle of *John*, with an intimation, that he had writ another, if not also a third epistle, and of the epistle of *Jude*. *Of the Catholic Epistles in general.*

Suppose now we should compare this with the account, which *Eusebe* has given of the books cited by *St. Clement*? *Eusebe* said in the second passage quoted from him, that *Clement* had in his *Stromata*, and other books he there speaks of, *taken testimonies out of those Scriptures that are contradicted; as the epistle to the Hebrews, and the epistle of Barnabas, and Clement and Jude*. And what we find in those works is agreeable to what *Eusebe* says: these Scriptures are there quoted, as we have particularly seen concerning the epistle to the *Hebrews*, and the epistle of *Jude*. But in the third passage *Eusebe* says, that *Clement* had in his *Institutions* given *short explications of all the canonical Scriptures, not omitting those that are contradicted: I mean the epistle of Jude, and the other catholic epistles, and the epistle of Barnabas, and the book called the Revelation of Peter*. *Photius* likewise mentions

A. D. 194. tions *Clement's* explications of the Catholic epistles. But yet in the remaining works of *Clement* we find no notice taken of the epistle of *James*, or the second of *Peter*. This seems to me somewhat strange. For if he had writ short explications on them in his *Institutions*, one might reasonably expect to see them quoted in these remaining works. It is certain, all the other books there mentioned by *Eusebe* are quoted in those works, which we still have; as the epistle of *Jude*, and *Barnabas*; excepting only the *Revelation of Peter*. Methinks, this may justly create a suspicion, whether *Clement* had commented upon all the seven Catholic epistles; particularly that of *James*, and the *second of Peter*. Besides, it is very observable, that *Cassiodorius* says: "*Clement* (*b*) Presbyter of *Alexandria*, "*author of the *Stromata*, explained the Canonical Epistles; that is, the first epistle of "*St. Peter, the first and second of St. John, "*and the epistle of *James*." It is probable, it (*i*) should be *Jude*. And mentions no other. These likewise *Cassiodorius* says, he ordered***

(*b*) In epistolis autem canonicis Clemens Alexandrinus Presbyter, qui & Stromateus vocatur, id est in epistola Sancti Petri prima, Sancti Joannis prima & secunda, & Jacobi, Attico Sermonem declaravit. *Divin. Lect.* cap. 8.

(*i*) Vid. *Fell.* not. edit. *Op. Clem.* Ox. p. 1006.

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194.

ordered to be translated into *Latin*. And that he had no comment of *Clement* upon the other Catholic epistles, is evident from what he there proceeds to say. “ That St. “ *Augustin* (*k*) had explained the epistle of “ *James*. But that he was still solicitous “ for a comment upon the rest of the cano- “ nical epistles. And to his great satisfaction “ he met with a book of *Didymus*, contain- “ ing an exposition of the seven canonical “ epistles.” And accordingly the *Latin* Adumbrations of *Clement*, supposed to be those translated by *Cassiodorius*, or by his procurement, are upon the first epistle of *Peter*, first and second of *John*, and the epistle of *Jude*. Nor is there any reason, that I know of, to question, whether *Cassiodorius* had the *Hypotuposes*, or *Institutions* of *Clement* entire; which seem to have been in being long after, in the time of *Photius*. In another place *Cassiodorius* says, “ It is (*l*) reported, that “ *Clement*

(*k*) Sanctus quoque Augustinus epistolam Jacobi Apostoli solita diligentiae suae curiositate tractavit. . . Sed cum de reliquis canonicis epistolis magna nos cogitatio fatigaret, subito nobis codex Didymi Graeco stylo conscriptus expositionem septem canonicarum epistolarum, Domino largiente concessus est. *ibid*.

(*l*) Ferunt itaque scripturas divinas veteris novique testamenti ab ipso principio usque ad finem Graeco sermone declarasse Clementem A——Cognomento Strömateum. *Praefat. ad libr. de Institutione Divin. Lectionum*.

A. D. 194. " *Clement of Alexandria* explained in the
 " *Greek* tongue all the Divine Scriptures of
 " the Old and New Testament from the
 " begining to the end." Which manner
 of speaking seems to shew, that this was
 more than he had certain proof of. It is
 likely, this common report he speaks of,
 was founded on the general expressions
 of *Eusebe*: which either are inaccurate,
 or ought to be interpreted in a general way,
 with an allowance for some exceptions.

Upon the whole, it appears to me proba-
 ble, that St. *Clement* had not, even in his *In-
 stitutions*, any comment, or short exposition
 of the epistle of *James*, or the second of
Peter, or the third of *John*: notwithstand-
 ing what *Eusebe* and *Photius* have said, of his
 short explications of the catholic epistles. For
 they may be understood to speak in a loose
 and general manner only: Just as *Cassiodorus*
 says, that *Clement* had writ of the canonical
 epistles: though at the same time he means
 only some, and not all of them. Nor can
 I see, why *Eusebe* should not have mention-
 ed the epistle of *James*, and the second of
Peter, as well as that of *Jude*, when they
 were all in the time of *Eusebe* among the
 Scriptures that were contradicted; but only,
 that

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that *Jude* was expounded by *Clement*, and the rest not.

A. D.
194.

We have not then at present any ground to think, that the epistle of *James*, the second of *Peter*, or the third of *John*, were received by *Clement*, or so much as known to him. However, as to the third epistle of *John*; considering the shortness of it, we have no good argument to conclude, he was unacquainted with it.

IX. The book of the *Revelation* is several times quoted by *Clement*, and once in this manner: "Such (*m*) an one though here on earth he be not honored with the first seat, shall sit upon the four and twenty thrones judging the people, as *John* says in the *Revelation*." See *Rev.* iv. 4. xi. 16. But *Clement* joins together the words of several (*n*) texts, and quotes by memorie. See *Matth.* xix. 28. *Luke* xxii. 30. And that he supposed this writer to be *John* the Apostle, appears (*o*) from another place, where

(*m*) Ἐν τοῖς ἑικοσι καὶ τέσσασι καθεδρεύεται θρόνοις, τὸν λαὸν κρίνων, ὡς φησὶν ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει Ἰωάννης. *Strom.* l. 6. p. 667. B.

(*n*) Vid. notas in h. l. edit. *Oxon.*

(*o*) Καὶ τὰς δώδεκα, τῆς ἑρανοπόλεως πόλεις, τιμίους ἀπεικασμένους λίθοις, τὸ περίοπτον τῆς Αποστολικῆς φωνῆς ἀνίστασθαι χάριτι ἐκδεχόμεθα. *Pseud.* l. 2. c. 12. p. 207. A.

A. D. he refers to *Rev.* xxi. 21. as the words of an
 194. † Apostle.

*The sum of
 his testi-
 monie.*

X. I shall now immediatly sum up the testimonie given by *Clement* to the books of the New Testament. He has expressly owned the four Gospels of *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke*, and *John*, and the *Acts of the Apostles*, which he also ascribes to *Luke*. He owns likewise all the fourteen epistles of *Paul*, except the epistle to *Philemon*, which he has no where mentioned, that we know of. But this omission may be very well supposed owing to no other reason, but the brevity of that epistle. He has also quoted the first epistle of *Peter*, the first and second epistle of *John*, and the epistle of *Jude*, and the book of the *Revelation*. But we have not found any quotations of the epistle of *James*, the second of *Peter*, or the third of *John*, nor any evidences that these were owned by him.

*Titles and
 Respect.*

XI. I shall in the next place observe some general names, titles and divisions of the books of the N. T. and some expressions of high respect for them.

Quoting some of our Gospels: *For proof*
 of

† However, see *Lampe in Johan. Evang. T. i. p. 117.*
not. (d.)

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of this, says (p) Clement, I need not use many words, but only to allege the Evangelic Voice of the Lord. Again: The (q) Lord will confirm this by what he says in the Gospel. And: The (r) Lord expressly in the Gospel. Again: It is said (s) in the Gospels.

A. D.

194.

He quotes the epistles of Paul and the other Apostles in this manner: Wherefore (t) the Blessed Apostle: Admirably (u) the Blessed Peter. It should be Paul. He refers to words in 1 Tim. ii. Excellently (x) well the Divine Apostle directs us to put on Christ. The excellent * Apostle. The (y) admirable Paul admonishes: The (z) Holy Spirit in the Apostle says.

M m

If

(p) Τὴν εὐαγγέλιον τῷ κυρίῳ παραθεμένῳ φωνήν. Paed. lib. i. p. 117. D.

(q) Ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μαρτυρήσει κύριος εὐαγγελίῳ, λέγων. p. 118. B.

(r) Σαφῶς δὲ ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. Paed. l. 2. p. 210. B.

(s) Ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις λέγεται. Strom. l. 1. p. 325. C.

(t) Διὰ τῆτο ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος. Adm. ad Gent. p. 54. A. B.

(u) Πάντῳ οὖν θαυμασίως ὁ Πέτρος ὁ μακάριος. Paed. l. 2. p. 211. B.

(x) Παγκάλως ἡμῖν θεὸς ἀπόστολος συμβαλένται, κ. λ. Paed. l. 3. p. 245. B.

* Κατὰ τὸν γενναῖον ἀπόστολον. Str. 2. p. 420.

(y) Ὁ θεσπίσις παρήνευσε Παῦλον: Str. l. 5. p. 546. D.

(z) Τὸ ἐν τῷ ἀποστόλῳ ἁγίου πνεῦμα λέγει. Paed. l. 1. p. 106. A.

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p. 117.

A. D.
194.

If there is one master in heaven, as the (a) Scripture says: Therefore (b) also the Scripture says: He calls them (c) Divine Scriptures, Divinely inspired (d) Scriptures: Again: which (e) are written in the Holy Books.

Clement observes, that there is a consent and harmonic between (f) the Law and the Prophets, the Apostles and the Gospel. This and other passages shew, the sacred Christian Scriptures were divided into two parts; under the titles of Apostolical Epistles, and Gospels. Again: *There is (g) one God, who is preached by the Law, the Prophets and the Gospel.* Here, and in other places the Gospel is the whole New Testament. *That we should do these things, both (h) the Gospel and the Apostle command.* Having cited the words of Tit. iii. 3. he adds: *As the (i) Apostolica*

(a) Ὡς φησὶν ἡ γραφή. Paed. l. i. p. 88. A.

(b) Διὸ καὶ φησὶν ἡ γραφή. p. 112. A.

(c) Μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ καὶ θείαις ἐπισύμφω γραφαῖς. Paed. l. i. p. 219. A.

(d) Κατὰ τὰς θεοπνεύσους γραφάς. Str. l. 7. p. 761. B.

(e) Ἐγγεγραφέται ταῖς βίβλοις ταῖς ἀγίαις. Str. l. i. p. 264. C.

(f) Νόμος καὶ προφητῶν ὁμῶς, καὶ ἀποστόλων σὺν καὶ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. Str. l. 6. p. 659. C.

(g) Τὸν διὰ νόμου, καὶ προφητῶν, καὶ εὐαγγελίου κηρυσσόμενον. Str. l. 4. p. 510. A.

(h) Τὸ τε εὐαγγέλιον, ὃ τε ἀπόστολος, κέλευσε.

(i) Ἡ φησὶν ἡ ἀποστολικὴ γραφή. p. 4. A.

apostolical Scripture says. Here the *Apostle*, and the *Apostolical Scripture* mean the collection of Epistles, and the *Gospel* is the collection of the Gospels. He says again: *The Law (k) and Prophets together with the Gospel* conduct to one and the same knowledge in the name of Christ. And: There (l) are two ways spoken of by the *Gospel*, and the *Apostles*, and by all the *Prophets*. In the treatise, *Who is the rich man that may be saved*, he uses these terms: (m) *Prophecies, Gospels, and Apostolical Words*.

He says: *The (n) Scriptures, which we believe, have been confirmed by almighty authority: and that one God, and Almighty Lord, is taught by the Law, and the Prophets, and the Blessed Gospel*. He calls the books of the New Testament (o) *the true Evangelical*
M m 2 Canon.

(k) Νόμος τε ὁμοῦ καὶ προφηταί, σὺν καὶ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ἐν ὀνόματι χριστοῦ εἰς μίαν συνάγονται γνώσιν. Str. l. 3. p. 455. C.

(l) Πάλιν αὖ δύο ὁδοὶ ὑποτεθιμέναι τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὁμοίως τοῖς προφήταις ἅπασιν. Str. l. 5. p. 561. A.

(m) Πιστεύτω προφηταῖς, εὐαγγελίοις, λόγοις ἀποστολικαῖς. Quis D. S. prope fin.

(n) Ὡς καὶ τὰς γραφάς, αἷς πεπιστεύκαμεν, κυρίας οὐσας ἐκ ἀνθευτίας παντοκρατορικῆς ἐπιδείξαντας, . . . εἶνα δεικνύναι Θεόν, καὶ Κύριον παντοκράτορα, τὸν διὰ νόμου, καὶ προφητῶν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου εὐαγγελίου. Str. l. 4. p. 475. A.

(o) Τῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εὐαγγελικῶ σοιχῆσαντες κανόνι. Str. l. 3. p. 453. D

A. D. Canon. Finally he calls (p) them the *Scriptures of the Lord*, and recommends the reading them, *as useful and necessarie for proving what we assert.*

Other Writings quoted by him.

XII. It remains only, that we now enquire, whether *Clement* quotes any other writings, as sacred, or of authority, and with the same respect which he expresses for those now commonly received as *canonical*, of which we have hitherto spoken. And it has been already observed upon the third passage of *Eusebe* concerning this Father, that his writing notes upon any book is no certain proof, that he owned it for sacred, or of authority.

But that we may the better judge of this question, we shall consider particularly *Clement's* quotations of two sorts of writings; those which we call *Christian* and *Ecclesiastical* writings, and some others, which we generally call *Apocryphal*.

Ecclesiastical Writings.

Of the former sort there are several, the epistle of *Barnabas*, the epistle of *Clement of Rome*, and the Shepherd of *Hermas*. These are the books of this sort, which seem to be

(p) Ἡτε τῶν γραφῶν τῶν κυριακῶν ἀναγνώσις εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τῶν λεγόμενων ἀναγκαῖα. Str. l. 6. p. 660. C.

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be quoted by *Clement* with higher marks of respect than others, as they are deserving of it on account of their early age, and their author's acquaintance with the Apostles, or Apostolical men. We have no occasion to take notice here of *Tatian*, or any other writers, beside these.

A. D.

194.

1. *St. Barnabas* is cited by *Clement* five or six times at least. I shall observe the manner of these quotations. *Rightly (q) therefore said the Apostle Barnabas: And soon after: And (r) the Apostle Barnabas: Thus (s) says Barnabas: Truly (t) Barnabas says mystically: For this I need not (u) use many words, but only to allege the testimonie of the Apostolic Barnabas; who was one of the Seventy, and fellow-laborer of Paul.* In another (x) place *Barnabas* is mentioned, where his name seems to have been put by mistake for *Clement*.

St. Barnabas.

Upon these citations I shall make but two remarks. *First*, that *Clement*, though he

M m 3

some-

(q) Ἐκόντως ἦν ὁ ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας. Str. l. 2. p. 373. B.

(r) Καὶ Βαρνάβας ὁ ἀπόστολος. p. 375. B.

(s) Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Βαρνάβας. p. 389. D. φησὶν ὁ Βαρνάβας. Str. l. 5. p. 571. D.

(t) Ἀμέλει μουσικῶς ὁ Βαρνάβας. Str. l. 2. p. 396. D.

(u) Οὐ μοι δὲ πλείονων λόγων, παραθεμένῳ μάρτυρι τῷ Ἀποστολικῷ Βαρνάβαν· ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐβδωμήκοιτα ἦν καὶ συνεργὸς τοῦ Παύλου. p. 410. D.

(x) Str. l. 6. p. 646. C.

A. D. sometimes calls *Barnabas* Apostle, does not
 194. hereby mean, that he was an Apostle in the
 highest sense of the word; so as the twelve,
 and *Paul* were Apostles. The word is some-
 times used in an inferior sense by the ancient
 Christians. I need not refer to particular
 places. However I will just observe, that
 (y) *Tertullian* calls all the *seventy* disciples
Apostles. And it is plain, that *Clement* so uses
 the word: for at another time he calls *Barna-
 bas Apostolical* only, and says he *was one of
 the seventy, and fellow-laborer of Paul*. These
 are the highest characters, which he really
 intends to give to *Barnabas*, and what he
 means, when he styles him *Apostle*. There-
 fore he need not be supposed to ascribe to
Barnabas that large measure of inspiration,
 and high authority, which was peculiar to
 the Apostles, strictly and properly so called.

Secondly, It has been observed by (z) *Cotelerius*, and by Mr. (a) *Jones* after him, that
Clement contradicts an assertion of *Barnabas*
 in

(y) Adlegit & alios Septuaginta Apostolos super duodecim.
Adv. Marcion. l. 4. c. 24. p. 540. D.

(z) Quippe qui opus quod credidit esse Barnabae, impug-
 nat, licet suppresso honoris causa nomine. *Pedagogi.* l. 2.
 c. 10. Id porro nequaquam commisisset, si ad Canonem per-
 tinere fuisset arbitratus. *Coteler.* Judicium de Ep. S. Bar-
 nabae.

(a) *The New and Full Method*, &c. Vol. 2. p. 537.

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in a place where he cites some of his expressions, without naming him: which, says *Cotelerius*, he would not have done, if he had thought his epistle belonged to the canon.

A. D.

194.

2. St. *Clement of Rome* is also several times quoted by our *Clement*. As, “*Clement* (b) in the epistle to the *Corinthians*:” And “the (c) *Apostle Clement* in the epistle to the *Corinthians*.” In another place: “It is (d) written in the epistle of the *Romans* to the *Corinthians*.” And in some other (e) places this epistle is quoted as *Clement’s*.

Clement of Rome.

Upon these citations we may observe, that when our author calls *Clement* *Apostle*, he gives him that title in the inferior sense of the word, as equivalent to *Apostolical*, in the like manner that he had given it before to *Barnabas*. It cannot be here used by him otherwise. *Clement* was not an *Apostle* in the strictest and highest sense of the word. And farther it is to be observed, that he considers this epistle as the epistle also of the church of *Rome*.

M m 4

3. *Her-*

(b) Ἀυτίκα Κλήμης ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολῇ. Str. l. i. p. 289. A.

(c) καὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολῇ ὁ ἀπόστολος Κλήμης. Str. l. 4. p. 516. A.

(d) Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστολῇ—γέγραπται. Str. l. 5. p. 586. B.

(e) Str. l. 4. p. 518. C. l. 5. p. 586. B.

A. D.

194.

Hermas.

3. *Hermas* too is frequently quoted by *Clement*. I shall take those places, which contain the strongest expressions of respect, and refer the reader for the rest to the *Testimonies* in *Le Clerc's Patres Apostolici*. Divinely (f) therefore the power which speaks to *Hermas* by revelation. For (g) the power that appeared in vision to *Hermas* says. And, The (h) *Shepherd*, the *Angel of repentance*, says to *Hermas* concerning the false prophet. And in some other places: The (i) *Shepherd* says: as the *Shepherd* says.

Concerning these citations of *Hermas*, I think we may say: It is reasonable to suppose, that *Clement* could not ascribe to *Hermas* a higher character, than that given to *Barnabas* and *Clement*: which is that of Apostolical, or Apostle in the lower sense of the word.

*A general
Remark.*

4. And with regard to the citations of these three writers, I would observe in general: That it seems not very easie to determine the exact measure or degree of respect, which
Clement

(f) Θείας τίνεν ἡ δύναμις ἡ τῷ Ἑρμᾷ, κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν λαλοῦσα. *Str.* l. 1. p. 356. B.

(g) Φησὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὁράματι, τῷ Ἑρμᾷ ἡ δύναμις ἡ φανεῖσα. *Str.* l. 2. p. 360. A.

(h) Λέγει δὲ ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς μετανόιας τῷ Ἑρμᾷ, κ. λ. *Str.* l. 1. p. 311. D.

(i) *Str.* l. 2. p. 384. D. l. 4. p. 503. C.

Clement had for them : but I do not perceive any plain evidence of his having the same respect for them, which he had for the Gospels, and the Epistles of the Apostles. He might well esteem them worthie of the highest respect, next to that given to Apostles. And in citing books of the next order to those of the Apostles, the forms of citation may possibly bear a resemblance with those used, when their writings are cited. But still there may be a superior regard had to the writings of the Apostles above all other : as I think there was by our *Clement*, and all catholic Christians in general.

Mark and *Luke*, Apostolical men, may write histories of our Lord's and his Apostles preaching and doctrine, and miracles ; which shall be received as sacred, and of authority : But no epistles, or other writings, delivering doctrines and precepts (except only in the way of historical narration) can be of authority, but those writ by Apostles. Many of the ancient Christian Writers seem to have gone upon this supposition. Some instances of it must have been observed in the passages we have (E) already produced. But the

more

(E) I suppose particularly, that *Papias*, *Irenaeus*, and our *Clement* himself go upon this ground in receiving *St. Mark's* Gospel,

A. D. 194. more particular consideration of this point is deferred, till hereafter.

Apocry-
phal Books.

XIII. Beside these, there are other books, called *apocryphal*, cited by *Clement*. And it has been thought, that some of them are quoted by him as authentic Scripture. *Le Clerc* (*k*) and some others are of this opinion. On the contrarie, *Mill* (*l*) says: “ That though *Clement* quotes Apocryphal “ Gospels, he carefully distinguishes them “ from ours, where there is occasion.” The nature of our design will not allow us to omit an enquiry into this matter. But I hope, that after all that has been already said, it may be dispatched in a few words.

The books of this sort quoted by *Clement* are these following: The *Gospels* according to

Gospel, as a faithful narrative of St. *Peter*’s preaching, though writ after that Apostle’s death, or not expressly approved by him. For *Papias* see p. 245. 249. &c; for *Irenaeus* p. 353. 400. &c. and for *Clement*, in this chapter numb. iii. v. p. 476. &c. But yet they do not receive the Shepherd of *Hermas*, the epistles of *Clement of Rome*, *Polycarp*, no nor *Barnabas*, as sacred Scripture, and of authority. This I think has appeared plainly with regard to St. *Irenaeus*. Ch. xvii. n. xii. And I suppose that it has been now shewn of our *Clement*, that there is no proof he was of a contrarie opinion.

(*k*) See *Bibliothèque Univ.* Tome x. p. 195. and 230. &c.

(*l*) Cum enim in omnigenis Veterum monumentis spatiretur [*Clemens A.*] ac ne quidem apocrypha evangelia praeteriret intacta (quae tamen, ubi opus est, cautè distinguit a *καταδεδομένοις ἡμῖν*, sive quatuor nostris canonicis) & quae seq. Prol. n. 627. edit. *Kust.*

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to the *Hebrews*, and according to the *Egyptians*: *The Preaching of Peter, the Revelation of Peter, The Acts of Peter, Traditions of Matthias*: to which we may add some words of *Christ*, not in our Gospels.

A. D.

194.

1. We shall begin with the two before-mentioned Gospels. The Gospel according to the *Hebrews* is but once expressly quoted by him. Having just before quoted the Traditions of *Matthias*, he adds: "And (m) " to the same purpose it is written in the " Gospel according to the *Hebrews*. He " who admires shall reign, and he who has " reigned shall be at rest."

Gospels according to the Hebrews, and Egyptians.

The Gospel according to the *Egyptians* is quoted several times. The fragments of it preserved in *Clement* may be seen in *Grabe* (n) and (o) *Jones*, and others. With regard to these Gospels we need only to observe these two things.

1.) That *Clement* owned our four Gospels, and those only. This is evident from the passages, before cited from *Clement*, and from the numerous

(m) Ἡ καὶ τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίων εὐαγγελίῳ . . . γέγραπται.
Str. l. 2. p. 380. A.

(n) *Spicileg.* T. i. p. 35. 36.

(o) *New and Full Method.* Vol. i. p. 244. — 247.

A. D. numerous quotations of these Gospels in all
 194. his works.

2.) In several of the places, where the Gospel according to the *Egyptians* is quoted, there are expressions used by *Clement*, which shew that he did not own it as a genuine authentic historie of Christ and his doctrine. " But, says he (p) in one place, they who " oppose the creation of God by their speci- " ous continence urge also the things spoken " to *Salome*, which I mentioned before. " They are I think in the Gospel according " to the *Egyptians*. For they say, that our " Saviour himself said:" which sufficiently shews, that *Clement* was little acquainted with this Gospel: and had no regard to it, but when he was obliged to confute the false opinions, which others endeavored to support by it. And it seems somewhat probable, that he had never read the Gospel itself, but only the quotations of it, which he had met with in heretical writers.

A lit-

(p) Οἱ δὲ ἀντιπασσόμενοι τῇ κτίσει τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τῆς εὐφροσύνης ἐγκρατείας, καὶ τὰ λέγουσι τὰ πρὸς Σαλώμην ἐρημμένα, ἐν πλεονέκτῳ ἐμνήσθημεν φέρεται δὲ δοκεῖν ἐν τῷ κατ' Ἀρτυτίου εὐαγγελίῳ. φασὶ γὰρ ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπε ταῦτα. κ. α. Σερ. I. c. p. 452. c.

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A little after: " Well, (q) but do not
 " they who choose to follow any thing, ra- A. D.
194.
 " ther than the true Evangelical Canon,
 " quote what follows there as said to *Sal-*
 " *ome?*" Again: " Wherefore (r) *Cassia-*
 " *nus* [*an heretical writer of Clement's own*
 " *time*] says, that when *Salome* asked:
 " When the things should be known, con-
 " cerning which she enquired, the Lord an-
 " swered. . . . " To which *Clement* imme-
 " diately replies: " First of all, we have not
 " this passage in the four Gospels delivered
 " to us, but in that according to the *Egyp-*
 " *tians.*" See before numb. V. p. 496.

Mr. *Jones* (s) has made several good re-
 marks upon the passages of this Gospel in
Clement. He asserts, that "*Clemens Alex-*
 " *andrinus* never saw the Gospel of the *E-*
 " *gyptians*, nor made any citations out of it,
 " but on the contrarie rejected it, as an im-
 " pious, heretical, and apocryphal book."

I need say nothing more particularly about
 the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*, which
 is

(q) Τί δὲ; ἐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τῶν πρὸς Σαλώμην ἐιρημένων,
 ἐπιφέρουσιν οἱ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εὐαγ-
 γελικῷ συγκρίσαντες κανόνι. *ibid.* p. 453. D.

(r) *Str.* l. 3. p. 465. C. D.

(s) *New and Full Method*, &c. V. i. p. 253. — 257.

A. D. 194. is but once cited by *Clement*, and was probably unknown to him: for it being writ in *Hebrew*, he could not read it in a language he was unacquainted with. It is likely, the single passage cited out of it, was taken at second hand from some author who had made use of it.

I have but one thing to add: that what we have just seen in *Clement* seems to afford a convincing argument of the obscurity of these Gospels at this time, and particularly of that according to the *Egyptians*. For, if *Clement*, who lived at *Alexandria*, and was so well acquainted with almost all sorts of books, had but a slight, or no knowledge at all of this Gospel, how obscure must it have been at this time? how little regarded by Catholic Christians?

*The
Preaching
of Peter.*

2. The next book of this sort is *The Preaching of Peter*, which is often quoted by this Father. It is of this in particular, that *Le Clerc* speaks, when he says, *Clement* used apocryphal books. "He (*t*) often cites,

" says

(*t*) Il cite souvent des écrits supposés, de même que s'ils avoient été reconnus de tout le monde, comme on le peut remarquer par le passage de la Predication de St. Pierre que l'on a rapporté, & par un autre de St. Paul, qui semble être tiré du livre de ses Voyages. *Bibl. Univ.* as above, p. 231.

(u)
tribuo
predica
point

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“ *says Le Clerc*, suppositious books, as if ^{A. D.}
 “ they were owned by every body : as may ^{194.}
 “ be observed in the passage of the Preach-
 “ ing of St. *Peter*, which we before quot-
 “ ed, and in another of St. *Paul*, which
 “ seems to be taken out of the book of his
 “ *Travels*.” As to this passage of St. *Paul*,
 I think *Le Clerc* mistaken about the book
 from whence *Clement* took it. It appears to
 be taken out of the same book, *The Preach-*
ing of Peter.

In the place before referred to (u) *Le Clerc*
 expresses himself thus. “ He cites also a
 “ book ascribed to St. *Peter*, which was en-
 “ titled *The Preaching of Peter*. It is ap-
 “ parent, that *Clement* had no doubt, but the
 “ book was *Peter's*.” If this be so, it must
 be supposed *Clement* owned this, as a book
 of Scripture in the highest sense. A writing
 of the Apostle *Peter* would certainly be es-
 teemed by him of canonical authority. But
 herein I differ from *Le Clerc*.

1.) The first observation therefore upon
Clement's citations of the book we are now
 examining

(u) Il cite ailleurs [Str. l. vi. p. 635.] un livre qu'on at-
 tribuoit a St. Pierre, & qui étoit intitulé κήρυγμα Πέτρον, la
 predication de St. Pierre. Il paroît que *Clement* ne doutoit
 point que ce livre ne fut de St. Pierre. ibid. p. 195.

A. D.
194.

examining must be this: That I see no reason to think, that this book was supposed by *Clement*, or any one else, to be *Peter's*. The title of it imports no such thing. Nor do the forms of quotation used by *Clement* oblige us so to understand him. A book containing an account of *Peter's* discourses may be called *Peter's Preaching*, whether writ and composed by *Peter*, or another. If writ by a disciple of *Peter*, it is fitly called *The Preaching of Peter*. It is the substance of the book, that gives it a right to that title. When *Clement* says: *In the Preaching of Peter you may find the Lord called the Law and the Word: or, Peter says in the Preaching*, or his *Preaching*, the plain meaning of these words is: *Peter* says this in the book, entitled the *Preaching of Peter*; without determining, or so much as implying in the least, that it was writ and composed by that Apostle. So *Clement* says: "And (x) *Peter* " says in the *Acts*: *Of a truth I perceive, " that God is no respecter of persons.*" Ch. x. 34. 35. And it is common to say, that *Peter*, or *Paul* says such a thing in the *Acts*, without

(x) Ναὶ μὲν καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν. Str. I. vi. p. 646. B.

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without intending, that the book of the *Acts* was writ by either of those Apostles. There is a great uniformity in *Clement's* quotations of this book, the *Preaching of Peter*. And they none of them seem to imply any thing more than what I have said. I have collected them for my own satisfaction, and shall put them in the (y) margin, because they may be of use to others. Sometimes it is, *Peter says in the Preaching*: Sometimes only, *Peter says*, if he had but a little before expressly named the book: just as it is usual to quote what *Paul* or *Peter* says in the *Acts*.

And that *Clement* did not suppose this book to be *St. Peter's*, may be argued from his quotation of a passage of *St. Paul* out of the same book, in this manner: “ This (x) the
N n “ apostle

(y) Ἐν δὲ τῷ Πέτρῳ κηρύγματι ἔνθεοις ἀν. κ. λ. Str. i. p. 357. A. ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τῷ κηρύγματι. Str. 2. p. 390. A. Πέτρος ἐν τῷ κηρύγματι λέγει. l. 6. p. 635. A. αὐτὸς διασαφῆσαι Πέτρος ἐπιφέρει. ibid. C. Δηλώσει πρὸς τῷ Πέτρῳ κηρύγματι ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγων Παῦλος. p. 636. C. Διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὁ Πέτρος εἰρηκέναι τὸν κύριον τοῖς ἀποστόλοις. κ. λ. ib. D. Αὐτίκα ἐν τῷ Πέτρῳ κηρύγματι ὁ κύριος φησι πρὸς τῶν μαθητῶν μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν. p. 639. B. ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τῷ κηρύγματι περὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων λέγων, φησὶν. p. 678. A.

(x) The *Greek* words are among the citations (y) and are thus justly rendered by *Grabe*: Declarabit in Petri Praedicatione Apostolus Paulus dicens. *Spic.* T. i. p. 65. Whereas in the *Latin* Version in *St. Clement's* works it is, praeter Petri Praedicationem declarabit Paulus.

A. D. ^{194.} “ apostle *Paul* will manifest, saying in the
 “ *Preaching of Peter.*” This seems to shew,
 that *Clement* thought this book was composed
 by some person, who wrote the historie of
Peter’s Preaching, inserting also some dis-
 courses of the Apostle *Paul*, and perhaps of
 others likewise: but calling the whole from
 the principal subject of it, *The Preaching of*
Peter.

2.) I observe then farther, that *Clement* has
 no where mentioned the name of the author
 of this book, as he has done of the book of
 the *Acts*, containing the historie of the
 preaching of *Peter*, and some others, though
 chiefly of *Paul*, which he has ascribed to St
Luke. Nor does it appear, that he knew
 who was the author of the *Preaching of Pe-*
ter. If he had, it is likely he would have
 mentioned him. Of any book to be receiv-
 ed as of authority, one would be glad to
 know the name and character of the author,
 whether he was an Apostle, or at least an
 Apostolical man; a follower or disciple of
 Apostles, and intimately acquainted with
 them.

3.) *Clement* has no where called this book
Scripture, or used any particular expression

(a)
 ἀντὶ
 μα, κ
 ἰσμεν
 τὸς ἐκ
 μαρτυ

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of high respect and veneration in his quotations of it.

A. D.

194.

4.) The testimonie of *Eusebe* ought to be of considerable weight in this point. Having, in his Ecclesiastical Historie, spoken of the first and second epistle of *Peter*, he says: " But (a) the book entituled his *Acts*, and " the *Gospel* named according to him, and " that which is termed his *Preaching*, and " that called his *Revelation*; we know that " they have not been delivered (to us) as Ca- " tholic writings, forasmuch as no Ecclesiasti- " cal writer of the ancients, or of our time, " has made use of testimonies out of " them." It is very strange, that *Eusebe* should so forget himself, as to say this, if so great a man as *Clement of Alexandria* had quoted the *Preaching of Peter*, as a book of that Apostle, or of an Apostolical man. Or, if he had quoted it as a book of authority; we must suppose, the stream of anti- quity to have been strong against him. O-

N n 2

therwise

(a) Τό γε μὴν τῶν ἐπικεκλημένων αὐτῆς πράξεων, καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν ὀνομασμένον εὐαγγέλιον, τό, τε λεγόμενον αὐτῆς κήρυγμα, καὶ τὴν καλεμένην ἀποκάλυψιν, καὶ ὅλως ἐν καθολικοῖς ἴσμεν παραδεδομένα. ὅτι μὴ τε ἀρχαίων μὴ τε τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τις ἐκκλησιαστικὸς συγγραφεὺς ταῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν συνεχρήσατο μαρτυρίαις. H. E. l. 3. §. 3. p. 72. A.

A. D. 194. therwise *Eusebe* could hardly have expressed himself in this manner.

5.) Nevertheless it seems, that *Clement*, when he quotes any words of *Peter*, or *Paul*, out of this book, quotes them as if he thought them to be really theirs, and that they were there recorded in a credible manner. This seems to appear in these expressions: *Peter says in the Preaching: This Peter himself will manifest, when he subjoins: Wherefore also Peter, in the Preaching, speaking of the Apostles, says.* And yet perhaps it may be questioned, whether *Clement* has not so distinctly named this book, whenever he takes any thing out of it, with a design, that every one may the better judge of the authority of what he produces from it: as much as to say: I take this out of the book, entitled *The Preaching of Peter*. And let it avail, as much as it can. There may be some foundation for this conjecture, since *Clement* has never called this book *Scripture*, nor mentioned the name of the author, or composer of it.

Upon the whole, it must be allowed to be difficult to decide, what authority *Clement* assigned to this book: but at the same time, I see no proofs of his esteeming it a book of sacred

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sacred scripture, in the highest meaning of these terms.

A. D.

194.

I would observe in general concerning the *Preaching of Peter*, which contained, as it seems, a historie of the preaching of *Peter*, chiefly, but also of the preaching of *Paul*, and perhaps of some others: That if it had been composed by an Apostolical Man, a disciple of Apostles, intimately acquainted with them, and there had been a credible tradition concerning the book, and the author of it; it might be a book of sacred authority, like the *Acts of the Apostles*, writ by *Luke*, an Apostolical man: provided also, that it had in it nothing manifestly false and absurd: as I suppose it would not, if it had been writ by such a person, and credibly witnessed to as such. But hitherto we have not met with, as I apprehend, any testimonie to this book, the *Preaching of Peter*, that it was writ by an Apostle, or an Apostolical man.

No one, I hope, will be offended at the prolixity of the argument upon this question, who considers the importance of it (F).

N n 3

3. The

(F) I have discoursed largely of St. *Clement's* opinion of the authority of this book. I add a conjecture concerning the age of it. It was writ before the end of the second centurie, as appears from *Clement's* quotations of it. It was writ after the

A. D. 194. 3. The *Revelation of Peter* is to be next considered. Of this *Eusebe* has informed us, that *Clement* in his *Institutions*, where he had writ notes upon divers books of Scripture that were contradicted, had writ notes also upon this. And it still appears quoted twice or thrice

the *Sibylline Verses*, because it refers to them. If therefore they were composed about the middle of the second century, this book was writ somewhat later. That the *Sibylline Verses* are referred to in this book, the *Preaching of Peter*, appears to me probable from two quotations of it in *St. Clement*, which I here put down. "That, as God desired the salvation of the *Jews*, giving them Prophets; so likewise he sing up the most approved of the *Greeks* to be Prophets to them in their own language, as they were able to receive the Divine beneficence, he distinguished them from the bulk of mankind, the Apostle *Paul* will manifest in the *Preaching of Peter*, saying: *Take likewise the Greek books. Consider the Sibyl, how she declares the one God, and things future. Take also and read Hystaspes, and you will then find the Son of God most clearly and evidently described.*" Str. l. 6. p. 636. C. D. See *Blondel Des Sibylles*. l. c. 5. This suits our *Sibylline Verses*, beside that it also shews, that the *Preaching of Peter* was writ after *Hystaspes*, another forgerie. In the other passage the *Sibylline Verses* are plainly described. "Whence also *Peter* in *The Preaching*, speaking of the Apostles, says: *But when we have perused the books which we had, of the Prophets, mentioning Jesus Christ sometimes in parables, sometimes enigmatically, sometimes clearly and expressly; we found his coming, and death, and crosse, and all the other sufferings which the Jews inflicted on him, and his resurrection and assumption to heaven, before the building of Jerusalem, and all these things had been written, which he was to suffer, and which should be after him.*" Str. l. 6. p. 678. A. B. [καθὰς ἐξηγήραπτο τὰυτα πάντα, ἃ ἔδει αὐτὸν παθεῖν, μετ' αὐτὸν ἃ ἔδει. So I propose these words should be pointed, and I have translated them accordingly.] For the original words I must refer the more learned and inquisitive to *St. Clement*

Clement

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thrice in the *Extraets* (b) of the *Scriptures of the Prophets*, supposed to be a fragment of *Clement's Institutions*, or collected out of them. But that this was not esteemed by *Clement* a book of authority, may be concluded from what *Eusebe* says in the passage lately cited from him, that it had not been delivered as a *Catholic Writing* or *Scripture*: and *secondly*, in that it is not quoted in any of the remaining works of *Clement*. If it had been reckoned by him a book of that

N n 4

character,

A. D.

194.

Clement himself: But every one may judge of the probability of this argument from what we shall hereafter produce out of the *Sibylline* books. I would only observe farther at present, that whereas *Peter* in this second passage speaks of the *books of the Prophets*; in the stile of the *Christian* writers about this time the *Sibyl* is often called a Prophet or Prophetesse, particularly by *St. Clement* himself. *Adm. ad Gent.* p. 17. B. 32. D. 33. A. In the first of these quotations likewise he calls the *Sibyls* Prophets. So also *Theoph. ad Aut.* l. 2. p. 112. A. B. Nor ought it to be reckoned any objection against this opinion, that this book was cited by *Heracleon*, a follower of *Valentinus*, as we learn from *Origen.* *Comm. in Johan.* T. 14. p. 211. E. Indeed *Heracleon* is placed by *Grabe* at the year 123. *Spicileg.* T. i. p. 62. But his age is not certain. Vid. *Massuet. Disserta. praeu. in Irenae.* p. 52. §. 93. He might live much longer. His master *Valentinus* continued to the time of *Anicetus*, as we are assured by so good authority as that of *St. Irenaeus.* L. 3. c. 4. §. 3. It is needless, to guess at the writer of the *Preaching of Peter*. But possibly he is the author of the *Sibylline Verses*. He might well be fond of so curious a work, and recommend it in his following performances: It is very likely, they were not his only forgerie. See *Jones New and Full Method*, V. i. p. 453.—456.

(b) §. 41. 48. 49.

A. D. character, it is very probable, it would have
 194. been there quoted.

Peter's
 Acts.

4. *Clement* has a passage too, which *Grabe* (c) supposes to have been in a book called the *Acts of Peter*: but if it was, it is plain this book was not owned by *Clement*, as a book of Scripture; since he has never quoted it, and this passage is introduced by *Clement* as an uncertain report. *They say* (d) therefore of *Peter*, and what follows: which shews, it is a matter of which he was not well assured.

Traditions
 of Mat-
 thias.

5. *Clement* has likewise (e) cited a book called *Traditions of Matthias*, or *Traditions* in general, in which are some words ascribed to *Matthias*. But from the places, in which he mentions these *Traditions*, it is evident (f) he did not rely upon them, if he did not think them forged by some heretics. The passages of *Clement* in which he mentions, or refers to these *Traditions*, are collected by

Grabe

(c) *Vid. Spicileg. Patr. T. i. p. 79.*

(d) Φασὶ γοῦν τὸν μακάριον Πέτρον, κ. λ. Str. l. 7. p. 736. B.

(e) Ματθίας ἐν ταῖς παραδόσεσι παλαιῶν. Str. l. 2. p. 380. A.

(f) Λέγουσι γὰρ [Carpocratiani] καὶ τὸν Ματθίαν ἐταίρῳ διδάσκει. Str. lib. 3. p. 436. D. vid. & Str. 7. p. 765. B.

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Grabe (g), and (b) *Jones*, to whom the reader is referred. There is no need we should insist any longer upon them here.

But beside the passages, collected by those learned men from *Clement's* remaining *Greek* works, there (i) is another passage in the *Latin* Adumbrations upon the first epistle of *St. John*, taken from some Traditions: which passage supposeth the genuinnesse of that epistle of *St. John*. *Beausobre* is of opinion, that (k) this passage was in a work of *Leucius*, called *Travels of the Apostles*, of which some account may be seen in (l) the sixth volume of this work.

6. *Clement*

(g) *Spicileg. Patr.* T. 2. p. 117. 118.

(b) *New and Full Method of settling the canonical authority of the N. T.* Vol. i. p. 316. & seq.

(i) Fertur ergo in traditionibus, quoniam Joannes ipsum corpus quod erat extrinsecus tangens, manum suam in profunda misisse, et ei duritiam carnis nullo modo reluctatam esse, sed locum manui prae buisse discipuli. Propter quod et infert: Et manus nostrae contrectaverunt de verbo vitae. &c. *Adumbr.* in 1 *Joh. i. 1.* p. 1009.

(k) Comme on opposoit aux *Docetes* la predication et les écrits des Apôtres, il y en eut d'assez hardis pour composer de faux Actes de ces saints hommes, ou ils les faisoient parler conformément à leurs erreurs. C'est ce que fit en particulier *Leuce arin*, dans un livre, qu'il intitula *Les Voyages des Apôtres*. *Clement d'Alexandrie* l'a cité sous le nom de *Traditions*, dans un petit Commentaire sur la i. Ep. de *S. Jean*. . . . Nous verrons tout à l'heure, que cette fable se trouvoit dans *Les Voyages de S. Jean* par *Leuce*. *Beauf. Hist. de Manich.* T. i. p. 383.

(l) See there, p. 396. 400.

A. D.
194.
Sayings of
Christ.

6. *Clement* has also a saying, which he is supposed to ascribe to our Lord. *Ask, (m)* says he, *great things, and the small shall be added to you.* These words are not exactly in any of our Gospels. And it has been suspected, that he took them out of some other Gospel. But it has been sufficiently shewn, that *Clement* owned only our four Gospels. This passage may be allowed then to be a loose quotation of the sense of *Matth. vi. 33.* without confining himself exactly to the words of the text. Mr. *Jones (n)* was much of this opinion, when he says: “ *Clement* rather chose to expound the words, [of *Matth. vi. 33.*] than literally to cite them. “ And this is most undeniably proved by another place, which I find in the same *Clement*, where he both produces the text, and these words as an exposition. Seek ye first the (o) kingdom of heaven and it's righteousness: for these are the great things. But the small things, and things

“ rela-

(m) Αἰτῆσθε γάρ, ἑσσι, τὰ μεγάλα, καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ὑμῖν προσεθήσεται. Str. l. i. p. 346. B.

(n) As before p. 553.

(o) Ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν ἁρῶν, καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην. ταῦτα γὰρ μεγάλα· τὰ δὲ μικρὰ, καὶ περὶ τὸ βίον, ταῦτα προσθήσεται ὑμῖν. Str. l. 4. p. 438. A.

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“ relating to this life, these shall be added to
 “ you.” Perhaps this exposition was added
 to the 33. verse of the sixth Chapter of *Mat-*
thew in some copies of that Gospel. The
 curious may do well to consult *Mill* upon
 the place.

A. D.

194.

This is the only *saying of Christ*, not in
 our Gospels, taken out of *Clement*, in *Grabe's*
 collection (p) of these things. As for any
 quotations of words of Christ from the Gos-
 pel according to the *Hebrews*, or the Gospel
 according to the *Egyptians*; we have suffi-
 ciently considered them already, in what has
 been said of those Gospels.

I think, upon the whole it appears, that
 there is no good reason to suppose, that St.
Clement received as *Scripture*, in the highest
 sense of the word, any Christian writings,
 beside the books of the New Testament,
 now commonly received by us.

XIV. I have as yet taken no particular no-
 tice of St. *Clement's* opinion of the *Sibylline*
 Books. For, if they are genuine, they are
 not a *Christian*, but a *Jewish*, or a *Heathen*
 writing, published long before the nativity of
 our

Sibylline
Verses.

(p) *Spicileg. Patr. T. i. p. 14.*

A. D.

194.

our Saviour. However, I think myself obliged to acknowledge, before I conclude this chapter, that St. *Clement*, St. *Theophilus*, and some other *Greek* Fathers of the second century, had a much greater respect for the *Sibyls*, than they deserved. For I am well satisfied, that the *Sibylline* Verses quoted by them are the forgerie of some Christian. The ancient *Sibylline* Verses did not recommend the worship of the one God alone, condemning all manner of idolatrie, as these do, which are cited by (q) *Justin*, (r) *Theophilus*, and (s) *Clement*: not to mention at present any other things. Nevertheless it must be owned, that *Clement* calls the *Sybil* a Prophetesse, and seems to quote her Verses as Scripture (t) in the strictest sense of the word (u), together

(q) *Cohort. ad Gr.* p. 16. 17.(r) *Ad Autol.* l. 2. p. 112. 113.(s) *Admon. ad Gent.* p. 32. D. 41. β. & alibi.

(t) Ὡρα τούτων, . . . ἐπὶ τὰς προφητικὰς ἵνα γράψας . . . γράψαι δὲ αἱ θεῖαι, καὶ πολιτέναι σώφρονες, σύμβουλοι σωτηρίας ὁδοί . . . αὐτίκα γὰρ ἡ προφήτις ἡμῖν ἀσάτω πρώτῃ Σίβυλλᾷ τὸ ἄστρο τὸ σωτήριον . . . ἐνθέως σφόδρα τὴν μὲν ἀπάτην ἀπακάζουσα τῷ σκίτει . . . Ἱερεμίας δὲ ὁ προφήτης, ὁ πάνσοφος, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐν Ἱερεμίᾳ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, κ. α. *Adm. ad G.* p. 50. C. D. 51. A.

(u) If the *Sibylline* Verses are the *Prophetical* books recommended in the *Preaching of Peter*, as appears probable from what has been said at Note (F), they seem to be represented also as ancient and divine Scripture by the author of

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ther with the Scriptures of the Old Testament. A. D.

So that if there be any books improperly advanced by him into the rank of sacred Scripture, we may say, that the *Sibylline* are the books. But yet after all, I think it not likely, that he did esteem them of equal authority with the books of the *Jewish* Canon.

194.

I shall observe but one thing more: that *Clement* himself affords us evidence, that those Verses, which he quotes to the *Greeks*, were rejected by them in his time. For having proposed to them the *Sibyl* (x) *Prophetesse* as a *mistresse* to teach them, and quoted some Verses from her, he adds: *But* (y) *if you do not choose to hearken to a Prophetesse, hear your Philosopher, the Ephesian Heraclitus*. Why should they not hearken to a *Prophetesse*, as readily as to a *Philosopher*? *Clement* gives us the reason: The *Philosopher*

was

that work. I shall transcribe his words to be considered by those who are so disposed: So *Peter* goes on in the place there cited: καθὼς ἐγγράπτο ταῦτα πάντα, ἃ ἔδει αὐτὸν παθεῖν, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἃ ἔσται. Ταῦτα ἐν ἐπιγνόντες, ἐπισέυσσαμεν τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τῶν γεγραμμένων εἰς αὐτόν. Καὶ μετ' ὧν ἐπιφέρει πάλιν, θεία προνοία τὰς προφητείας γεγενῆσθαι παρὶς ὧδε. Εἰδόμεν γὰρ ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὰ προσέταξεν ὄντως, καὶ ἔδεν ἄτερ γραφῆς λέγομεν. Str. l. vi. p. 678. B.

(x) Διδάσκαλον δὲ ὑμῖν παραθήσομαι τὴν προφήτιν Σί-
βιλλαν. Adm. ad G. p. 32. D.

(y) Σὺ δὲ, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ προφήτις ἐπακέεις, τῷ γε σὺ
ἀκούει φιλοσόφου τῷ Εφρασίῳ Ηρακλίτῳ. ib. p. 33. B.

A. D.
194.

was theirs, the Prophetesse not. The Hea-
then people therefore knew nothing of these
Verses, till they were found out, or rather
forged by some Christian, and then incau-
tiously and imprudently recommended by
others.





C H A P. XXIII.

P O L Y C R A T E S.

His Historie.

POLYCRATES (a) was Bishop of ^{A. D.} the church of *Ephesus* the later part of ^{196.} the second centurie. He was the eighth Christian Bishop of his familie. About the year 196, he called a numerous synod of the Bishops of *Asia*, upon occasion of the controverſie about the time of celebrating Eaſter: Which was then kept by the churches of *Asia Minor* on the fourteenth day of the Moon, on whatever day of the week it happened; but by the *Romans*, and moſt other churches, on the Lord's day following. *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome* required the Biſhops of *Asia*, to follow the cuſtom of other churches. *Polycrates*, having conſulted the Biſhops of *Asia*, wrote a letter with their approbation to *Victor*, and the church of *Rome*, declaring their

(a) Vid. *Euf. H. E. L.* 3. c. 31. l. v. c. 24,

A. D. 196. their resolution to keep Easter at the time they had hitherto observed it. Whereupon *Victor* excommunicated (*b*) all the churches of *Asia*, and those in their neighborhood. Of this epistle there are two fragments in *Eusebe*. This is in short the historie of *Polycrates*. It will be confirmed by that part of his letter, which I am now about to transcribe, so far as is suitable to our purpose.

Only, I would first of all observe, that *Jerome* (*c*) confirms the account given by *Eusebe*, and farther speaks of *Polycrates* as a person of considerable capacity and authority: and says, he flourished in the time of the Emperour *Severus*, who began his reign in 193.

“ We therefore, says (*d*) *Polycrates*, observe the true and genuine day, neither adding nor detracting any thing. For in *Asia* there are great lights buried, which shall be raised up in the day of the Lord’s advent, in which he shall come with glory from heaven, and shall raise up all his saints:

(*b*) *Euf.* l. v. c. 24. p. 192. B. C. & *Socrat.* H. E. L. v. c. 22. p. 284. B.

(*c*) Haec propterea posui, ut ingenium & auctoritatem viri ex parvo opusculo demonstrarem. Floruit temporibus Severi Principis. *De vir Ill.* cap. 45.

(*d*) *Ap. Euf.* p. 191.

(e)
(f)
κατὰ
ἀλλὰ
(g)
συμ-
γίαν
μῆναι.
μᾶλλον

Chap. XXIII. POLYCRATES.

549

“ saints: As *Philip*, one of the twelve
 “ Apostles,—and moreover *John* (e) who
 “ leaned upon the Lord’s breast. And what
 “ need I mention *Melito*, the eunuch, who
 “ conducted himself in all things by the
 “ Spirit, who rests in *Sardis*, expecting the
 “ visitation from heaven, at which he shall
 “ rise from the dead? All (f) these have
 “ kept the day of Easter on the fourteenth
 “ day according to the Gospel: Not trans-
 “ gressing in the least, but following the
 “ rule [*or canon*] of faith. And so have I
 “ *Polycrates*, who am the least of all, accor-
 “ ding to the tradition of my relations, some
 “ of whom also I have followed. For seven
 “ of my relations have been Bishops, and
 “ I am the eighth. And my relations al-
 “ waies kept the day, when the people [*of*
 “ *the Jews*] cast away their leaven. I
 “ therefore, brethren, who (g) am sixty
 “ five years of age in the Lord, and who
 O o “ have

A. D.

196.

John xxi.

20.

Matth.

xix. 12.

(e) Ἐτι δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος κυρίου ἀναπεσών.

(f) Οὗτοι πάντες ἐτήρησαν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τεσσαρεσκαίδε-
 κατῆς τῆς πάσχα κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον· μηδὲν παρεκβαίνοντες,
 ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τῆς πίστεως ἀκολουθῦντες. p. 191. D.

(g) Ἐγὼ οὖν ἀδελφοὶ ἐξήκοντα πέντε ἔτη ἔχων ἐν κυρίῳ καὶ
 συμβεβηκώς τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀδελφοῖς· καὶ πάσαν α-
 γίαν γραφὴν διεληλυθώς, καὶ πτύρομαι ἐπὶ τοῖς καταπλησσο-
 μένοις. οἱ γὰρ ἐμὴ μέζονες ἐπὶ ἐρηκασί, πειθαρχεῖν δεῖ Θεῷ
 μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις. p. 192. A.

- A. D. 196. " have conversed with the brethren in many
 " parts of the world, and have read over all
 " the Holy Scripture, am not moved at what
 " I am threatened with. For they who are
 Acts v. 29. " greater than me have said: *We ought to*
 " *obey God, rather than men.*"

We are at present to observe only what
 has a relation to any particular books of the
 New Testament, or to the collection of them
 in general.

Matth. When *Polycrates* calls *Melito* an eunuch
 possibly he refers to *Matth.* xix. 12. Where
 our Lord says: *There be eunuchs, which have*
made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom
of heaven's sake.

John. When he observes of *John*, that he leaned
 on the Lord's breast; he very probably refers
 to those places of St. *John's* Gospel where
 this particular is mentioned: as Ch. xiii. 25.
 xxi. 20.

Acts. Where he says, that greater than he have
 said: *We ought to obey God, rather than men*
 there is an undoubted reference to *Acts* v. 29.

He moreover speaks of many who had ob-
 served this feast on the fourteenth day, accord-
 ing to the Gospel; probably meaning thereof
 by the collection of Gospels, which he like-
 wise calls *the rule of faith.*

Chap. XXIII. POLYCRATES.

551

Lastly, he says, he had *read over the Holy* ^{A. D.}
Scripture : meaning, it is likely, the Scriptures ^{196.}
of the Old and the New Testament : and
perhaps, those of the New in particular.

This testimonie needs not be summed up.
It lies in a short compasse.





CHAP. XXIV.

HERACLITUS, *and several other writers, near the end of the second centurie.*

A. D.
196.

HERACLITUS, says (a) *Cave*, flourished about the year 196. He is mentioned by *Eusebe* in his (b) *Ecclesiastical Historie*, together with several other writers of the church, who lived in the reign of *Commodus* and *Severus*, or about that time.

“ Moreover, says *he*, there still remain in
“ the hands of many divers monuments of
“ the laudable industrie of those ancient and
“ ecclesiastical men. Of such of them as
“ have come to our knowledge (c) are the
“ writings [or commentaries] of *Heraclitus*
“ upon the *Apostle*: and of *Maximus*, concerning the question so much discoursed of
“ among

(a) *Hist. Lit.* p. 60.

(b) *L. v. c.* 27.

(c) Ὅτι γε μὴν αὐτοὶ διέγνωμεν, εἴη τὰ Ἡρακλείτου εἰς τὸν ἀπόστολον. *ib.*

Chap. XXIV. HERACLITUS, *and others.* 553

“ among the heretics, whence proceeds evil, A. D.
196.
 “ and concerning the creation of matter :
 “ And of *Candidus* upon the six Days work,
 “ and of *Appion* upon the same argument.
 “ Likewise the treatise of *Sextus* on the re-
 “ surrection, and a book of *Arabianus*, and
 “ innumerable other :” Whose time *Eusebe*
 says he did not know. He goes on : “ There
 “ are besides treatises of many others, whose
 “ names we have not been able to learn ; (d)
 “ orthodox and ecclesiastical men, as the in-
 “ terpretations of the Divine Scripture given
 “ by each one of them manifest.”

St. *Jerome* has inserted a short account, in his Book of Illustrious Men, of all these writers, whom *Eusebe* has mentioned by name : of (e) *Heraclitus*, (f) *Maximus*, (g) *Candidus*, (h) *Appion*, (i) *Sextus*, and (k) *Arabianus*. And *Eusebe* in another work (l) has preserved a large fragment of *Maximus*, of whom he there gives a great encomium.

Of *Heraclitus* St. *Jerome* (m) says agreeably to *Eusebe* : “ In the time of *Commodus*
 O o 3 “ and

(d) Ὁρθόδοξον μὲν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἡ ἐκάστη παραδείκνυσιν τῆς θείας γραφῆς ἐρμηνεία. *ibid.*

(e) Cap. 46.

(f) Cap. 47.

(g) Cap. 48.

(h) Cap. 49.

(i) Cap. 50.

(k) Cap. 51.

(l) *Praep. Evan. L. vii. p. 337. A. Ec.*

(m) *Heraclitus sub Commodi Severique imperio in Apostolum commentarios composuit. De Vir. Ill. c. 46.*

A. D. 196. “ and *Severus* he wrote commentaries upon
 “ the Apostle.” By which is generally understood, that *Heraclitus* wrote commentaries upon the epistles of *St. Paul*. It is pity, *Eusebe*, or *Jerome*, if they had read *Heraclitus*, did not give us a more particular account of his performance, and how many of the Apostle’s epistles he had explained.

I have nothing farther to add here, but that it may be probably concluded, that all, or most of those writers, who, as *Eusebe* says, had manifested their orthodoxie by their *interpretations of the Divine Scriptures*, had taken some notice of the books of the New, as well as of the Old Testament,





C H A P. XXV.

H E R M I A S.

HERMIAS has left us a short, but ^{A. D. 200.} elegant discourse, called (a) *A Derision*, or banter of the Gentil Philosophers. In the inscription of this work he has the title of *Philosopher*. But who he was, and when he lived, is unknown. Some have thought him to be a writer (b) of the fourth, or fifth centurie. *Cave* supposes, that he wrote in the second centurie: whose arguments appear to me sufficient to render his opinion probable. The work itself seems to shew, as that learned author (c) observes, that Gentilism still prevailed. And *Du Pin* (d) agrees with him, that it was writ before the

O o 4 fall

(a) Ερμίας φιλοσόφου διασυρμὸς τῶν ἑξω φιλοσόφων.

(b) *Vid. Cave Hist. Lit.* P. i. p. 50. P. ii. p. 35. 36. *Fabric. Bib. Gr. Tom. v. p. 96.*

(c) Ex toto opusculi contextu constare videtur, vigente adhuc gentilismo scriptum fuisse. *Hist. Lit.* P. ii. p. 36.

(d) Il n'y a pas de doute, qu'il est ancien, & qu'il vivoit avant que la religion payenne fut détruit. *Bibl. Ecc. Tom. i.*

A. D.
200. fall of Paganism. Tillemont (e) likewise thinks, the argument of his book gives ground to suppose, it was writ in the first ages of the church. I have therefore placed him here in the last year of the second centurie.

1 Corinth. I have not observed in this Discourse any reference to the books of the New Testament, except a quotation at the very beginning of it, to this purpose: "The (f) Blessed Apostle Paul, writing to the Corinthians in Laconic Greece, did not speak beside the purpose, when he said: *The wisdom of this world is foolishnesse with God.*" *1 Cor. iii. 19.*

(e) Tout ce que nous en pouvons dire, c'est que son sujet donne lieu de croire, qu'il écrivoit dans les premiers siècles de l'Eglise, où l'on s'occupoit à détruire le paganisme, *Memoires Ecc. T. 3. P. i. en Hermogene.*

(f) Παῦλος ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος, τοῖς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὴν Λακωνικὴν παροικῶσι Κορινθίοις γράφων, ὡς ἀγαπῆτοί, ἀπεφώνησε το λέγων· ἡ σοφία τοῦ κόσμου τέτε μαρὶα παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ, ἐκ ἀσκόπως ἐιπώη. p. 175. B. Paris.



CHAP. XXVI:

SERAPION.

WE have already seen the testimonie A. D.
200.
of two Bishops of the church of *Antioch*; *Ignatius*, and *Theophilus*: under which last we observed the succession of the Bishops of that church from the time of the Apostles. *Theophilus* was succeeded (a) by *Maximin*, about the year 181; and he by *Serapion*, the eighth in that succession: who was Bishop from about (b) the year 190. to 211. or somewhat later. I may therefore well place him here at the year 200.

Eusebe (c) says, *Serapion* wrote many pieces: But he had not seen any of them, beside a letter to *Caricus* and *Ponticus* concerning the *Montanists*: another to *Domnius*, who in the time of the persecution [probably that of *Severus*] forsook the faith of

(a) Vid. *Euf.* H. E. L. iv. c. 24. l. v. c. 19.

(b) Vid. *Cave Hist. Lit.* p. 52. *Du Pin. Bibl. Tillemont. Mem. Ec.* T. 2. *Les Montanistes. Art.* iv. & T. 3. *Serapion.*

(c) H. E. L. vi. c. 12.

A. D.

200.

of *Christ*, and turned *Jew*: and some other
 epistles. “ There is also, *says Eusebe*, ano-
 “ ther book of his concerning the *Gospel* en-
 “ titled *according to Peter*, wherein he con-
 “ futes the falsities of that Gospel. Which
 “ book he composed for the sake of some in
 “ the parish of *Rhossus*, [*in Cilicia*] who by
 “ means of that writing were led into hete-
 “ rodox opinions. It cannot be improper
 “ to transcribe some short passages, in which
 “ he declares his sentiment of that book.
 “ *We, (d) brethren, receive Peter, and the*
 “ *other Apostles, as Christ: but as skilful*
 “ *men, we reject those writings which are*
 “ *falsly ascribed to them; well knowing, that*
 “ *we have received no such. When I was*
 “ *with you, I supposed you had all held the*
 “ *right faith. And not having read the*
 “ *Gospel offered to me under the name of Pe-*
 “ *ter, I said: If that be the only thing that*
 “ *causeth a difference among you, let it be*
 “ read.

(d) Ημεῖς γὰρ ἀδελφοί, καὶ Πέτρον καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀποστόλους
 ἀποδεχόμεθα ὡς Χριστὸν· τὰ δὲ ὀνόματι αὐτῶν ψευδεπίγραμμα,
 ὡς ἔμπειροι παραιτούμεθα. γινώσκοντες, ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ
 παρελάβομεν. ἐγὼ γὰρ γενόμενος παρ’ ὑμῖν, ἰπενόντων τῶν
 πάντας ὀρθῇ πίστει προσφέρεσθαι. καὶ μὴ διελθὼν τὸ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν
 προσφερόμενον ὀνόματι Πέτρῳ εὐαγγέλιον, εἶπον ὅτι εἰ τὸ
 ἐστὶ μόνον τὸ δοκῶν παρέχειν μικροψυχίαν, ἀναγινώσκουσιν
 κ. λ. *ibid.*

" read. But now having understood by what A. D.
200.
 " has been told me, that their minds are se-
 " cretly filled with some heresie, I will do my
 " endeavour to come to you again. There-
 " fore, brethren, you may expect me shortly.
 " And we, brethren, have found what was
 " the heresie of Marcianus, and that he con-
 " tradicted himself, not understanding what he
 " said: as you may perceive from what is
 " here writ to you. For we have obtained
 " the sight of that Gospel from others that
 " make use of it, that is, from the successors
 " of those who were the authors of that opi-
 " nion, whom we call (A) Docetae. (for
 " the chief sentiments of it belong to that
 " sect.) Having (e) therefore obtained it
 " of them to read it over, we have found that
 " the main part of the book is agreeable to
 " the right doctrine of our Saviour. Never-
 " theless there are some other things added,
 " which we have noted down, and sent to
 " you."

Jerome in his book of *Illustrious Men* (f)
 says:

(A) They denied, that Jesus Christ had a true human body.

(e) Χρησάμενοι παρ' αὐτῶν διελθεῖν· καὶ εὐρεῖν μὲν τὰ πλεί-
 ωα τὰ ὀρθὰ λόγια τῆ σωτῆρος· τινὰ δὲ προσδiesαλμένα, καὶ
 ἐπετάξαμεν ὑμῖν. *ibid.*

(f) C. 41.

A. D. 200. *D.* says: *Serapion* was ordained Bishop of *Antioch* in the eleventh year of *Commodus*, or the year of our Lord, 191. His catalogue of *Serapion's* works is agreeable to that in *Eusebe*. He says particularly, "That (g) he wrote a book concerning the Gospel, that goes under the name of *Peter*, which he sent to the church of *Rhossus* in *Cilicia*, which had been led into heresie by reading of it."

The fragment of this book deserves some remarks.

1. We see the great respect paid by Christians to the writings of the Apostles. *Serapion* assures us, the church received the Apostles as Christ: that is, their writings, as the very words and doctrine spoken and preached by Christ himself.

2. We see his method of judging of the genuinenesse and authority of any books of Scripture: Those which had been delivered with an authentic tradition, as the Apostles, he received: others he rejected.

3. The book called the *Gospel of Peter* was no part of canonical Scripture, nor any writing

(g) Et alium de evangelio, quod sub nomine Petri fertur, librum ad Rhossensem Cilicie ecclesiam, quae in haeresim ejus lectione diverterat. *ibid.*

Chap. XXVI. SERAPION:

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writing of *Peter*: It had not been delivered as such.

A. D.

200.

4. We learn the obscurity of this book, called the *Gospel of Peter*. Here is a Bishop of the large and celebrated church of *Antioch*, about the end of the second centurie, who had never read it, or seen it: And who, as far as we are able to judge, was not unworthie of his high office. He seems to have been a learned man, and a vigilant Pastor. He wrote divers treatises and epistles. This book concerning the Gospel of *Peter*, which he composed for the benefit of the Christians at *Rhossus*, is a good proof of his ability and diligence. Nothing could be more to the purpose, to demonstrate the obscurity and insignificance of the book called the *Gospel of Peter*, than this letter, or treatise of *Serapion*. It is plain, it was in no repute with the Catholic Christians. Nor could *Serapion* find a copie of it among them. In order to procure a sight of it, he was obliged to send to some of those called *Docetae*, and borrow it of them.

5. It may at first appear somewhat strange, that he should consent to the use of this writing. But really there is nothing at all strange or improper in it. *Serapion* supposed,

A. D.
200.
~

posed, the people of *Rhossus* had all held the right faith: and not having read the book complained of by some, he took it for granted, it was a pious orthodox book, which Christians might read with edification. Being also a lover of peace, and unwilling to deliver unnecessary precepts, he consented to their use of it. However he prudently took an opportunity, to procure and examine this writing. And having perceived, there were in it some false and absurd notions, mixed with those which are true and right, he was at the pains of collecting the several errors of it in a distinct treatise, which he immediatly sent away to *Rhossus*: and promises them a second visit upon this occasion, if needfull. Thus acted this Christian Bishop of *Antioch*.

Grabe (*b*), and *Beausobre* (*i*), suppose this Gospel of *Peter* to have been a composition of *Leucius*, the famous forger of apocryphal pieces.

(*b*) Evangelium Petri fuisse reor figmentum Leucii haeretici, seculo ii. plura ejusmodi cudentis, eoque nominibus Apostolorum supponentis. *Grabe Spic. T. i. 58.*

(*i*) *Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 349. 350. 358. 375. & 458.*



C H A P. XXVII.

T E R T U L L I A N.

- I. *His Historie, Works, Time and Character.*
- II. *His Testimonie to the Scriptures of the N. T. particularly, the four Gospels.*
- III. *The Integrity of St. Luke's Gospel.*
- IV. *Upon what Grounds he receives the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke.*
- V. *More Passages concerning the four Gospels.*
- VI. *Of the Aëts of the Apostles.*
- VII. *St. Paul's Epistles.*
- VIII. *The meaning of Authentic Letters,*
- IX. *Of the Epistle to the Hebrews.*
- X. *He received thirteen Epistles of St. Paul.*
- XI. *Of the Catholic Epistles.*
- XII. *The Revelation.*
- XIII. *A Summarie of the Books received by him.*
- XIV. *The Integrity of the Scriptures.*
- XV. *Their Authority.*
- XVI. *General Titles and Divisions.*
- XVII. *The Order of the Books of the N. T.*
- XVIII. *Of Chapters.*
- XIX. *A Latin Translation in his Time.*
- XX. *The Scriptures of the N. T.*

N. T. open to all Men. XXI. Whether he cites Apocryphal Books. XXII. A Book forged in the Name of St. Paul. XXIII. The Conclusion.

A. D. I.
200.
His Hist-
rie.

QUINTUS Septimius Florens Tertullianus, or Tertullian, generally reckoned the most ancient Latin Father now remaining, was born at Carthage, the capital city of Africa, not long after the middle of the second centurie. His father (a) was a Proconsular Centurion, that is, a military officer under the Proconsul of Africa, which is not reckoned to have been a post of any great consideration. Tertullian was well acquainted with the Roman Lawes. But it does not appear, that he went to the Bar, or any other way practised the Lawe as a profession. He had besides read the Greek and Roman Poets, Historians, Orators, Philosophers, and other Heathen writers of all sorts, as his works shew abundantly. His skill in Greek was so considerable, that he (b) wrote several

(a) Vid. Tertull. Apol. c. 9. p. 10. A. & Hieron in Chron. & de Vir. Ill. cap. 53.

(b) Sed & huic materiae propter suaviludios nostros Graeco quoque stilo satisfacimus. De corona. C. 6. ad fin. p. 123. D. Sed de isto plenius jam nobis in Graeco digestum est. De Baptismo. cap. 15. p. 262. D. At ego, si quid utriusque linguae prae scripsi. Adv. Praxeam, cap. 3. p. 636. A. Paris. 1634.

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cap. 18.
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several books in that language. From divers (c) expressions of *Tertullian* in his works it is concluded by learned men, that he was once a Heathen. Whether they afford full proof of this, may be disputed. They may be however allowed, together with his father's profession of a soldier, to be sufficient to render it probable. We have no particular account of the time, or circumstances of his conversion. He was a man of a lively fancy, as well as extensive knowledge, but of a severe temper. The character of his stile given by (d) *Lactantius* may be allowed by all, that it is *rugged and unpolished, and very obscure*: and yet, as (e) *Cave* observes, *it is lofty and masculine, and carries a kind of majestic eloquence along with it, that gives a pleasant relish to the judicious and inquisitive reader*. He wrote a multitude of books, some of which are lost: but there still remains a good number, some composed before, others

P p

after

(c) Haec & nos risimus aliquando. de vestris fuimus. *Apol.* cap. 18. Poenitentiam, hoc genus hominum, quod & ipsi retro fuimus, caeci sine Domini luce, natura tenus nōrunt. &c. *De Poenit.* C. 1. vid. & de *Speſtaculis.* c. 19. p. 99. A. *De Reſurreſtione.* cap. 49. p. 427. A.

(d) Septimius quoque Tertullianus fuit omni genere literarum peritus, ſed in eloquendo parum facilis, & minus comp- tus, & multum obſcurus fuit. *Divin. Inſtit.* L. v. c. 1.

(e) *Lives of the Primitive Fathers,* p. 211.

A. D. 200. after he embraced the errors of *Montanism*. His Apologie is a master-piece. And his other performances are writ with wit and force, and are edifying and instructive. Though he had a great deal of vehemence and positivenesse in his constitution, there appear (f) in his writings frequent tokens of true unaffected humility and modestie; virtues, in which the Primitive *Christians* were generally so very eminent.

The Ecclesiastical Writers mentioned by him (not to insist on any reputed heretical authors) are (g) *Hermas*, (h) *Justin Mar-*

tyr,

(f) Literae ad hoc seculares necessariae: de suis enim instrumentis secularia probari necesse est. QUANTULAS ATTIGI, credo sufficient. *De corona.* cap. 7. Nec tantus ego sum, ut vos alloquar; & quae sequuntur; *Ad Martyrum.* cap. i. Confiteor ad Dominum Deum, satis temere me, non etiam impudenter, de patientia componere ausum, cu praestandae idoneus non sim, ut homo nullius boni. *De patientia.* cap. i. It seems, that *Tertullian* had convinced *Praxeas* that he had been in an error, and brought him to a recantation: Yet he expresseth himself in this modest manner. Fruticaverant avenae Praxeanae, hic [Carthagine] quoque superfeminatae, traductae de hinc PER QUEM DEUS VOLUIT, etiam avulsae videbantur. *Contr. Prax.* cap. i. p. 634. D. Vid. *Tillemont Mem. Ec. Tertullian*, Artic. iii. *Pagi Critic.* in *Baron.* 171. §. 3. *Tho. Ittig. de Haeresiarum.* Sect. ii. cap. 16. p. 237.

(g) *De Oratione.* cap. 12. p. 154. A. *De Pudicitia* Cap. 10. p. 727. A. B. & cap. 20. p. 741. C.

(h) Ut *Justinus philosophus & martyr*, ut *Miltiades Ecclesiarum sophista*, ut *Irenaeus omnium doctrinarum curiosissimus explorator*, ut *Proculus noster, virginis senectae, & Christi-*

anae

tyr, Miltiades, Proculus, once a Catholic, afterwards a Montanist: of all whom (excepting *Hermas*) he speaks together, with great respect. And in (i) another place he makes a general mention of divers Christian authors, who had writ learned defenses of their religion against the Gentils.

A. D.
200.

Having given this general account of *Tertullian*, I shall next put down some of the testimonies of the ancients, and then proceed to the observations of the moderns.

Lactantius in the place just cited, where he censures *Tertullian's* stile, says, he was well skilled in all parts of learning. And in another place, that (k) he had fully defended the Christian cause in his *Apologie*. *Eusebe* says in his Ecclesiastical Historie, where he several times quotes *Tertullian's* *Apologie*, that “ (l) he was extremely well acquaint-

P p 2

“ ed

anae eloquentiae dignitas: quos in omni opere fidei, quemadmodum in isto, optaverim assequi. *Adv. Valent.* cap. v. p. 291. B.

(i) Nonnulli quidem, quibus de pristina literatura & curiositatis labor & memoriae tenor perseveravit, ad gentes opuscula penes nos condiderunt. *De Testimon. Animae.* cap. i. p. 80. B.

(k) Quamquam Tertullianus eandem causam plene peroraverit in eo libro, cui Apologetico nomen est. *Divin. Instit.* lib. v. cap. 4.

(l) Ταῦτα Τερτυλλιανὸς τὰς ρωμαίων νόμους ἠκριβοῦν ἀντὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐνδοξόν, καὶ τῶν μάλιστα ἐπὶ ρώμης λαμπρῶν. *H. E.* l. 2. c. 2. p. 41. B.

A. D. 200. “ ed with the *Roman Lawes*, eminent like-
 “ wise on other accounts, and especially ce-
 “ lebrated at *Rome*:” or, as *Valesius* renders
 it: *and most renowned among the Latin Wri-
 ters.*

I believe, we may do well to take here en-
 tire St. *Jerome's* historie of this Father in his
 book of *Illustrious Men*. “ *Tertullian* a (m)
 “ Presbyter is now reckoned after *Victor* and
 “ *Apollonius* the first of the *Latins*. He was
 “ born in the province of *Africa*, in the city
 “ of *Cartbage*. His father was a Procon-
 “ sular Centurion. He was a man of an (n)
 “ eager and vehement temper, flourished
 “ chiefly in the time of the Emperours *Seve-*
 “ *rus* and *Antoninus Caracalla*, and wrote a
 “ great number of books: which, because
 “ they are generally known, I omit. I
 “ have seen one *Paul* of *Concordia*, which
 “ is a small town in *Italie*, then an old
 “ man, who said that when he was very
 “ young, he had seen the Secretarie of the
 “ Blessed *Cyprian* then of a great age: and
 “ (o) that he was wont to tell him, that not
 “ a day

(m) Tertullianus presbyter nunc demum primus post Victo-
 rem & Apollonium Latinorum ponitur.

(n) Hic acris & vehementis ingenii.

(o) Referreque sibi solitum, nunquam Cyprianum absque
 Tertulliani lectione unum diem praeterisse, ac sibi crebro di-
 cere, *Da magistrum*; Tertullianum videlicet significans.

" a day passed, but *Cyprian* read something
 " in *Tertullian*: And that he would often
 " say to him, *Bring me my Master*, intend-
 " ing (A) *Tertullian*. When he had conti-
 " nued a Presbyter of the church till about
 " the middle part of his age, on account of
 " the envie and reproaches of the clergy of
 " the *Roman Church*, he went over to the
 " sect of *Montanus*, and in many of his
 " books makes mention of that new pro-
 " phecie. Several books especially were
 " composed by him against the church, as
 " these: *Of Chastity, Of Persecution, Of*
 " *Fasts, Of Monogamie*, [or, against second
 " marriages] *Of Extasie* in six books: to
 " which he added a seventh, writ against
 " *Apollonius*. He is said to have lived to an
 " extreme [or decrepid] old age, and to
 " have writ many books, beside those which
 " are now extant."

In his Chronicle, at the 15. of *Severus*,
 and 208. year of our Lord, *Jerome* says:

P p 3

" Ter-

(A) It is observed by learned men, that *Tertullian* is not
 once quoted by *Cyprian* in his works now extant. Neverthe-
 less in another place *Jerome* says positively, that *Cyprian's*
 works shew he esteemed *Tertullian* his master. Et beatus Cy-
 prianus Tertulliano magistro utitur, ut ejus scripta probant.
Hieron. ep. 69. And it is allowed, that he imitates *Tertul-*
lian in some of his remaining works.

A. D. 200. " *Tertullian* (p) an *African*, son of a Pro-
 " consular Centurion, is famous in all the
 " churches."

Jerome has in other places extolled *Tertul-
 lian's* wit and learning, and says: *his Apologie*
 (q) and his other books against the *Gentils* take
 in all the treasures of human learning.

The encomium of *Tertullian* given by *Vin-
 centius Lirinensis*, a writer of the fifth cen-
 turie, is beautiful, but too long to be tran-
 scribed, and had better be read in himself.
 The sum of it is in the very begining: That,
 " as (r) *Origen* had the first place among
 " the *Greeks*, so *Tertullian* ought to be ef-
 " teemed without dispute the prince of all
 " the *Latin Writers* of the church."

So far of testimonies from the ancients. I
 shall now represent the sentiments of some
 learned moderns.

Cave (s) places *Tertullian* at the year 192.
 He supposes he might be born a little before
 the

(p) *Tertullianus Afer Centurionis Proconsularis filius omni-
 um ecclesiarum sermone celebratur. p. 172. Amsterd. 1658.*

(q) *Quid Tertulliano eruditius, quid acutius? Apologeti-
 cus ejus & contra Gentes libri cunctam saeculi obtinent disci-
 plinam. Ad Magnum Oratorem: ep. 84.*

(r) *Sed & Tertulliani quoque eadem ratio est, nam si-
 ille apud Graecos, ita & hic apud Latinos nostrorum omnium
 facile princeps judicandus est. Commonitorium adv. Haer.*
 cap. 24. init.

(s) *Hist. Lis.*

the middle of the second centurie, and that he embraced Christianity about the year 185, and was made a Presbyter of the church of Carthage about 192. What *Jerome* says of *Tertullian's* leaving the Catholic church about the middle of his age is understood by that learned writer, not of his natural, but *Christian* life: he therefore concludes, he became a *Montanist* about the year 199. and died, as may be conjectured, about 220.

A. D.
200.

Du Pin (t) says, *Tertullian* flourished chiefly in the time of *Severus* and *Antonine Caracalla*, that is, from about the year 194. to 216.

Tillemont (u) computes him to have been born in 160, under *Antonine the Pious*, or his successor; to have left the church, and become an open *Montanist* about 205. and to have died under *Philip*, about the year 245, when he was between 80 and 90 years of age.

Many learned (x) men have employed their labour in settling the time of the seve-

P p 4

ral

(t) *Nouv. Bib. des Aut. Ec. Tertullien.*

(u) *Mem. Ec. Tom. iii. Tertullien. Article 13.*

(x) *Joseph. Scal. Animadv. ad Euseb. Chron. p. 229. Cave Hist. Lit. Allix Disserta. de vit. & scriptis Tertulliani. Du Pin. Bibl. Tillemont Mem. Ec. Basnage Annal. P. E. 200. §. 4. 5. 6. & seq. Pagi. vid. indicem Criticæ in Baron. V. Tertullianus.*

A. D.
200.

ral works of this author. They generally divide them into two periods, those writ before, and those after his fall into *Montanism*. I shall only observe some of their opinions concerning the date of the Apologie, the most celebrated of all his pieces. *Cave* reckons but three of his books writ, whilst he was a Catholic; *Of Baptism*, *Of Penitence*, and *Of Prayer*: and thinks the Apologie to have been writ about the year 202. *Du Pin* places his Apologie in 200, before he became *Montanist*, which according to him happened in 202. or 203. *Tillemont* likewise places it at the year 200. *Basnage* (y) in 203. *Pagi* (z) in 205. But I think his arguments not sufficient to prove it so late. And Mr. *Mosheim*, after a very laborious examination of this point concludes, that (a) it was composed in the year 198. The Apologie, as is now generally allowed by learned men, was not addressed to the Senate of *Rome*; but to (b) the Governours of Provinces, or perhaps to the Proconsul of *Africa*, and the

(y) Ibid. A. D. 200. §. 8.

(z) *Critic. in Baron.* A. D. 199. §. 6.

(a) *Vid. Ejusd. Diss. de aetate Apolog. Tertull. n. xxix. xxx.*

(b) The Apologie begins: Si non licet vobis, Romani imperii antislites, in aperto & edito, in ipsa fere vertice civitatis praefiden-

Chap. XXVII. TERTULLIAN.

573

the chief magistrates residing at *Carthage*,
where it was writ.

A. D.
200.

I am desirous to speak of *Tertullian* about the time of his writing his *Apologie*. He is often reckoned a writer of the second centurie. But a large part of his remaining works were writ in the third centurie. I place him therefore at the year 200, which I take to be soon enough.

Tertullian's conversion to *Montanism* is a remarkable event in his life. But we know little of the causes of that change in him, beside what *Jerome* says, who ascribes it to the envie and reproaches of the *Roman* Clergy. Divers other particular reasons have been assigned by some moderns; as a disappointment of the Bishoprick of *Rome*, or *Carthage*. But *Tertullian* is now generally acquitted by learned men of that charge. Some indeed do still conjecture, that the specious pretenses of the *Montanists* to greater mortification in fasts and continence had an effect upon *Tertullian*, who was of a severe temper, which is not improbable.

However,

praesidentibus ad judicandum, palam dispicere, &c. *Apol.* cap. 1. Hoc imperium, cujus ministri estis, civilis, non tyranica dominatio est. cap. 2. p. 3. D. Hoc agite, boni praesides. cap. 30. p. 30. c. vid. & cap. ult. p. 45. B.

A. D.

200.

However, the principles of *Montanism* made so little alteration in this author, that there are several of his pieces, concerning which it is not easie to determine, whether they were writ by *Tertullian* a *Montanist*, or *Tertullian* still a *Catholic*. To use the words of (c) *Daille*. “As for *Tertullian*, I must confess, his very turning *Montanist* has taken off indeed very much of the repute which he before had in the church, both for the fervence of his piety, and also for his incomparable learning. But yet, beside that a great part of his works were written while he was yet a *Catholic*; we are also to take notice, that this his *Montanism* put no separation at all betwixt him and other *Christians*, save only in point of *discipline*, which he, according to the severity of his nature, would have to be most harsh and rigorous, For, as for his *doctrine*, it (d) is very evident, that he constantly kept to the very same rule, and the same faith, that the *Catholics* did: Whence proceeded that

(c) *Right Use of the Fathers*. B. ii. Ch. 4. p. 69. London 1675.

(d) *Vid. lib. de Monogam. cap. 2. &c. & De jeuniis cap. 1.*

“ that tart speech of his: That (e) people
 “ rejected Montanus, Maximilla and Priscilla, not because they had any whit departed
 “ from the rule of faith, but rather because
 “ they would have us to fast oftener than to
 “ marry.”

Tertullian nevertheless from this time forward believed (f) the Spirit of God to have spoken in Montanus, and his two Prophetesses Priscilla and Maximilla, and to have made by them some farther discoveries for the greater perfection of Christians, than had been made before. He approved of the longer, more strict and more frequent fasts of the *Montanists*: condemned second marriages (g) as unlawful in all, and denied the power of the church to pardon any great sins committed after baptism; that is, to receive again

(e) Hi Paracleto controversiam faciunt; propter hoc novae prophetiae recusantur; non quod alium Deum praedicent Montanus & Priscilla & Maximilla, nec quod Jesum Christum solvant, nec quod aliquam fidei aut spei regulam evertant; sed quod plane doceant saepius jejunare, quam nubere. De *Jejuniis*. Cap. i. p. 701. C.

(f) Sed & si nubendi jam modus ponitur, quem quidem apud nos spiritalis ratio, Paracleto auctore, defendit, unum in fide matrimonium praescribens. *Adv. Marcion.* l. 1. p. 452. B. Hanc & Ezechiel novit, & Apostolus Joannes vidit, & qui apud fidem nostram est, novae prophetiae sermo testatur, ut etiam effigiem civitatis ante repraesentationem ejus conspectui futuram in signum praedicarit. *Adv. M.* l. 3. p. 499. B.

(g) Vid. De *Monogam.* c. 12. & alibi.

A. D. again to communion any (*b*) who had fallen
 200. into fornication, adulterie, or any such like
 offenses after their baptism. He also often
 arrogantly calls his own people *spiritual*, and
 the Catholics as (*i*) contemptuously *animal* or
carnal.

II. We proceed to consider his testimonie
 to the books of the New Testament.

*Of the
 four Gos-
 pels.*

I begin with a passage of *Tertullian* con-
 cerning the four Gospels, and their authors,
 taken out of his books against *Marcion*, writ
 (*k*) in the year of *Christ* 207. or 208.

“ In the first (*l*) place we lay this down
 “ for

(*b*) Vid. *De Pudicitia*. c. 19. p. 740. D. 741.

(*i*) Mirarer Psychicos, si sola luxuria tenderentur, qua fac-
 pius nubunt; & non etiam ingluvie lacerarentur, qua jejunia
 oderunt. . . . Agnosco igitur animale fidem studio carnis qua
 tota constat, tam multivorantiae quam multinubentiae pro-
 nam; ut merito spiritalem disciplinam pro substantia aemu-
 lam, in hac quoque specie continentiae accuset. *De Jejunis*.
 c. 1. p. 701. A. B. Licet nec hoc Psychici curent. *De Mo-
 nos*. c. xi. p. 684. A. Evasisti, Psychice, si velis, vincula
 disciplinae totius. ib. c. 12. p. 685. B.

(*k*) *Adv. Marcion*. l. i. c. 15. p. 440. B.

(*l*) Constituimus in primis, Evangelicum Instrumentum
 Apostolos auctores habere, quibus hoc munus Evangelii pro-
 mulgandi ab ipso Domino sit impositum. Si & Apostolicos,
 non tamen solos, sed cum Apostolis, & post Apostolos. Quo-
 niam praedicatio discipulorum suspecta fieri posset de gloriae
 studio, si non adsistat illi auctoritas magistrorum, imo Christi,
 qui magistros Apostolos fecit. Denique nobis fidem ex apo-
 stolis Joannes & Matthaeus insinuant; ex apostolicis, Lucas
 & Marcus instaurant, iisdem regulis exorsi, quantum ad uni-
 cum Deum attinet creatorem, & Christum ejus, natum ex
 virgine, supplementum legis & prophetarum. *Adv. Marc*. l.
 iv. c. 2. p. 502. D. 503. A.

“ for a certain truth, that the Evangelic (B)
 “ Scriptures (literally *Evangelic Instrument*)
 “ have for their authors the Apostles, to
 “ whom the work of publishing the gospel
 “ was committed by the Lord himself. And
 “ if also [*it have for authors*] Apostolical
 “ Men, not them alone, but with the Apo-
 “ stles, and after the Apostles. [*Which was*
 “ *very fit.*] Forasmuch as the preaching of
 “ the disciples might have been suspected as
 “ liable to the charge of a desire of glorie,
 “ if not supported by the authority of the
 “ masters, yea, of Christ, who made the
 “ Apostles masters. To conclude, among
 “ the Apostles *John* and *Matthew* [*first*]
 “ teach us the faith: among Apostolical
 “ men *Luke* and *Mark* refresh it, going upon
 “ the same principles, as concerning the one
 “ God the creator, and his Christ born of a
 “ Virgin, the accomplishment of the Lawe
 “ and the Prophets.” And soon after:
 “ But (*m*) *Marcion* having got the epistle of
 “ *Paul*

(B) By the *Evangelical Scriptures* in this place *Tertullian* means the Collection of the Gospels.

(m) Sed enim Marcion nactus epistolam Pauli ad Galatas, etiam ipsos apostolos fugillantis, ut non recto pede incedentes ad veritatem evangelii, simul & accusantis pseudapostolos quosdam pervertentes evangelium Christi, connititur ad destruendum statum eorum Evangeliorum, quae propria, & sub apostolorum nomine eduntur, vel etiam Apostolicorum. *ibid.* c. 3. p. 503. C.

A. D.

200.

“ Paul to the Galatians, who blames the
 “ Apostles themselves, as not walking up-
 “ rightly according to the truth of the gospel,
 “ [Ch. iii. 14.] and also charges some false
 “ Apostles with perverting the gospel of
 “ Christ, sets himself to weaken the credit of
 “ those Gospels (c) which are theirs, and
 “ are published under the name of Apostles,
 “ or likewise of Apostolical men.” That
 is, are published under the name of Apostles,
 or however of Apostles and Apostolical
 men.

These passages shew at once the number
 of the Gospels universally received, the
 names

(c) *Which are theirs, or their own, quae propria.* I have translated literally. But *Tertullian* hereby intends likewise of the highest authority. And because all the four Gospels are not writ by Apostles, and therefore, strictly speaking, are not all *theirs*; nor, according to *Tertullian*, in themselves of the first and highest authority; after saying, they were *theirs*, and published under the name of *Apostles*, he corrects himself; or represents the case more distinctly, adding: or *likewise of Apostolical men*; that is, of Apostles, or however of Apostles and Apostolical men. That this is what *Tertullian* means, is evident from a passage, where he joins together the words *properly* and *principally*, and ascribes the highest and primarie authority to Apostles only: *Disciplina igitur apostolorum proprie quidem instruit ac determinat principaliter sanctitatis omnis erga templum Dei antistitem, & ubique de ecclesia eradicantem omne sacrilegium pudicitiae, sine ulla restitutionis mentione. Volo tamen ex redundantia alicujus etiam comitis apostolorum testimonium superducere, idoneum confirmandi de proximo jure disciplinam magistrorum.* Exstat enim & Barnabae titulus ad Hebraeos. *De Pudicitia.* c. 20. p. 741. B. C.

names of the four Evangelists, *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke*, and *John*, and their proper characters : two of which were Apostles and companions of *Christ* himself, and the other two Apostolical men, or companions of *Christ's* Apostles.

III. In the next passage to be here taken *Tertullian* asserts against *Marcion* the genu-
The Integrity of
St. Luke's
Gospel.
 inesse and integrity of the copies of *St. Luke's* Gospel, owned by himself and Christians in general. For this he appeals to divers Apostolical churches. He asserts at the same time the truth of the other three Gospels, and that Christians had the fullest persuasion of the genuineness and authority of the Gospels which they had received, upon the ground of a very sure and credible testimony of the churches from the time of writing them to his own age.

“ In (n) a word, *says he*, if it be certain,
 “ that is most genuine which is most ancient,
 “ ent,

(n) In summa, si constat id verius quod prius, id prius quod ab initio, id ab initio quod ab Apostolis; pariter utique constabit, id esse ab apostolis traditum, quod apud ecclesias apostolorum fuerit sacrosanctum. Videamus, quod lac a Paulo Corinthii hauserint; ad quam regulam Galatae sint recorrecti; quid legant Philippenses, Thessalonicenses, Ephesii; quid etiam Romani de proximo sonent; quibus Evangelium & Petrus & Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatum reliquerunt. Habemus & Joannis alumnas ecclesias. Nam etsi Apocalypsin ejus

A. D. 200. " ent, that most ancient which is from the
 " begining, and that from the begining
 " which is from the Apostles ; in like man-
 " ner it will be also certain, that has been
 " delivered from the Apostles which is held
 " sacred in the churches of the Apostles.
 " Let us then see, what milk the *Corinthi-*
 " *ans* received from *Paul*: to what rule the
 " *Galatians* were reduced: what the *Philip-*
 " *pians* read, what the *Thessalonians*, the
 " *Ephesians* ; and likewise what the *Romans*
 " recite, who are near to us, with whom
 " both *Peter* and *Paul* left the Gospel sealed
 " with their blood. We have also churches,
 " which are the disciples of *John*. For
 " though *Marcion* rejects his Revelation, the
 " succession of Bishops traced up to the be-
 " gining will shew it to have *John* for it's
 " author. We know also the original of
 " other churches. [*That is, that they are apo-*
 " *stolical.*] I say then, that with them, but
 " not with them only which are apostolical,
 " but with all, who have fellowship with
 " them

ejus Marcion respuit, ordo tamen Episcoporum ad originem
 recens in Joannem stabit auctorem. Sic & ceterarum gene-
 rositas recognoscitur. Dico itaque apud illas, nec solas jam
 apostolicas, sed apud universas, quae illis de societate sacra-
 menti confederantur, id evangelium Lucae ab initio editionis
 suae stare, quod cum maxime tuetur. Adv. Marcion. L.
 iv. c. 5. p. 505. B.

“ them in the same faith, is that Gospel of *A. D.*
Luke received from it's first publication, ^{200.}
 “ which we so zealously maintain :” That
 is, the genuine entire Gospel of *Luke*, not
 that which had been curtailed and altered by
Marcion. He adds presently afterwards:
 “ The same (o) authority of the apostolical
 “ churches will support the other Gospels,
 “ which we have from them, and accord-
 “ ing to them. [*That is, according to their*
copies.] I mean *John's* and *Matthew's*:
 “ Although that likewise, which *Mark* pub-
 “ lished, may be said to be *Peter's*, whose
 “ interpreter *Mark* was. For *Luke's* Digest
 “ also is often ascribed to *Paul*. And indeed
 “ it is easie to take that for the master's,
 “ which the disciples have published.”

IV. It has been sometimes said, that *Ter-* *On what*
tullian here supposes, the Gospels of *Mark* *Grounds he*
 and *Luke* to have been reviewed, and then *receives*
 approved and confirmed by the Apostles *the Gospels*
Peter and *Paul*; since he is willing to allow *of Mark*
 them to be the Gospels of those Apostles, *and Luke.*
 Q q though

(o) Eadem auctoritas ecclesiarum apostolicarum ceteris quo-
 que patrocina bitur Evangeliiis, quae proinde per illas, & secun-
 dum illas habemus; Joannis dico & Matthaei; licet & Mar-
 cus quod edidit, Petri adfirmetur, cujus interpres Marcus.
 Nam & Lucae Digestum Paulo adscribere solent. Capit ma-
 gistrorum videri, quae discipuli promulgârint. ib. c. 5. p.
 505. C. D.

A. D. though writ by Apostolical men. But I
 200. think, that *Tertullian* means no more, than
 that they were the Gospels of these Apostles
 for the *matter* or substance of them. He had
 just before mentioned particularly the autho-
 rity of the Gospels writ by *Matthew* and
John, who were Apostles. He adds, that
 the other two, though writ by Apostolical
 men, were of the like authority: because it
 is reasonable to suppose, that what the dis-
 ciples published is the same that was taught
 by their masters, or perfectly agreeable to
 their doctrine: and therefore what they have
 published has in it the very authority of those
 Apostles.

He supposes likewise, that the Gospels of
Mark and *Luke* are confirmed and authorised
 by the Gospels of *Matthew* and *John*, with-
 out intimating in the least, that they were re-
 viewed, and expressly approved by either of
 these Apostles. This is apparent from what
 he says at the begining of the first passage
 here cited: *If also Apostolical men, not them
 alone, but with Apostles, and after Apostles.
 Forasmuch as the preaching [or work] of the
 disciples might have been suspected as liable to
 the charge of a desire of glorie, if not sup-*

ported

ported by the authority of the masters, yea of *A. D.*
Christ, who made the Apostles masters. *200.*

This is still more apparent from what follows in the same book against *Marcion*, when he says, that if (*p*) *Marcion* had introduced a Gospel under the name of *Paul* himself, that work alone would not be of sufficient credit, if unsupported by his predecessors. For it would be reasonable to consider, what was that Gospel, which was in being before *Paul*. He then insists on *Paul's* journey to *Jerusalem*, to confer with those who were Apostles before him, and says: “ If even *Luke's* instructor wished to have the authority of his predecessors for his faith and preaching, how much more may I desire it [*their authority, the authority of the former Apostles:*] for *Luke's* Gospel, which was ne-

Qq 2

“ cessarie

(*p*) Ut & si sub ipsius Pauli nomine Evangelium Marcion intulisset, non sufficeret ad fidem singularitas Instrumenti, destituta patrociniis antecessorum. Exigeretur enim id quoque Evangelium quod Paulus invenit, cui fidem dedit, cui mox suum congruere gestiit. Siquidem propterea Hierosolymam ascendit ad cognoscendos Apostolos & consultandos, . . . Igitur si ipse illuminator Lucae auctoritatem antecessorum & fidei & praedicationi suae optavit, quanto magis eam Evangelio Lucae expostulem, quae Evangelio magistri ejus fuit necessaria? Aliud est, si penes Marcionem a discipulatu Lucae coepit religionis Christianae sacramentum. Ceterum, si & retro decurrit, habuit utique authenticam paraturam, per quam ad Lucam usque pervenit, cujus testimonio adfidente, Lucas quoque possit admitti. Adv. Marcion. l. 4. c. 2. p. 503. C.

A. D. "cessarie for the Gospel of his master?"

200.

And more follows there to the like purpose. That is, I may justly expect, that *Luke's* Gospel be found agreeable to the Gospels writ by Apostles, or I cannot receive it as of authority.

And he supposes, that the preaching and Gospels of Apostles derive their authority from Christ himself, who made them masters: not that their Gospels were reviewed and approved by Christ, but because it is reasonable to conclude, that what they have writ is no other than the doctrine which they received from him, and which he commanded them to publish to the world. So in another place (*q*) he calls the whole collection of the Gospels *the Gospel of the Lord*. They are his Gospel for the matter and substance, not as writen, or expressly approved by him, after they were writen.

Exactly in this manner had *Justin Martyr* spoke before, calling the Gospels (*r*) the *Commentaries*, or histories of *the Apostles of Christ*;

not

(*q*) Unus omnino baptismus est nobis, tam ex Domini Evangelio, quam ex Apostoli literis. De Baptismo. c. 15. p. 262. C. And see before n. ii. p. 577.

(*r*) Ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτῷ δεδωλῶται. *Justin* p. 559. C.

not that they were all writ (D) by Apostles, but because they contain the doctrines and sense of the Apostles, as (s) *Dodwell* justly explains him. *Justin* also calls them *His*, (t) that is, *Christ's* commentaries, [not *Peter's* commentaries, meaning *St. Mark's* Gospel, as Mr. *Jones* (u) supposed] as containing the doctrine preached by Christ during his ministrie here upon earth.

Tertullian's opinion then was this, that the Gospels of *Mark* and *Luke* are supported by the authority of the Apostles: forasmuch as it is reasonable to think, that they contain the very doctrine of the Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, whom they particularly attended: and are also agreeable to the Gospels, writ by the Apostles *Matthew* and *John*: and have the

Q 9 3

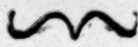
testi-

(D) See before Ch. x. n. iii. p. 270.

(s) Sic autem illa tribuit [Justinus] Apostolis, quod Apostolorum dogmata mentemque complecterentur, ut una tamen aliorum agnoscat in scriptione operam qui fuerint Apostolos sectati. *Dissert. Iren. i. §. 40. p. 70.*

(t) Καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν μετωνομακέναι αὐτὸν Πέτρον ἕνα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ γεγράφαι ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτῶν γεγεννημένον καὶ τέτο. *Dialog. p. 333. D.*

(u) *New and Full Method, &c. V. 3. p. 92.* If there be any difficultie in understanding this of *Christ*, it might be conjectured, that instead of αὐτῶν *Justin* wrote αὐτῶν, meaning the Apostles: But I see no difficultie herein, as we find the Scriptures of the New T. in general sometimes called the Scriptures of the Lord [See Ch. xii. p. 300.] and the collection of Gospels the Gospel of the Lord.

A. D.
200.
 testimonie of the churches, that they are genuine. And all the Gospels are authorised by Christ, as truly representing his doctrine. Or: It may be depended upon, that the Gospels were writ by the persons, whose names they bear. The Apostles have truly preached and writ the doctrine they received from Christ. The Apostolical men have also faithfully published in writing what they received from Apostles. All the Gospels are therefore supported by the authority of Apostles, yea of Jesus Christ.

It is likewise plain, why this high authority is ascribed to the Apostles above all others: They were immediatly appointed by Christ to publish the gospel to the world, and (x) had the largest measure of the gifts of the Spirit, a measure peculiar to themselves.

*The Gof-
pels.*

V. In these passages we have seen the authority, genuinnesse, and sincerity of all the four Gospels asserted with the fullest assurance, and upon the best ground. I shall neverthe-

less

(x) Sequere admonitionem cui divinitas patrocinator. Spiritum quidem Dei etiam fideles habent, sed non omnes fideles Apostoli. Cum ergo qui se fidelem dixerat, adjecit postea Spiritum Dei se habere, quod nemo dubitaret etiam de fidelibus idcirco id dixit, ut sibi Apostoli fastigium redderet. Propter enim Apostoli Spiritum Sanctum habent in operibus prophetiae & efficacia virtutum, documentisque linguarum, non ea parte, quod ceteri. De Exhort. Cast. c. 4. p. 667. B.

less add a few more concerning the Gospels of *St. Matthew*, *St. Luke*, and *St. John*.

A. D.
200.

“ 1. And (y) especially *Matthew*, the most faithful historian of the gospel, as being a companion of the Lord, for no other reason, than that we might be informed of the origin of Christ according to the flesh, began in this manner: *The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham.*” He quotes likewise some of the last words of this Gospel: “Baptism (z) is appointed, and the form prescribed: *Go ye, faith he, teach the nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*”

Matthew.

2. “Moreover, *Luke* (a) was not an Apostle, but Apostolical: not a master, but a disciple: certainly less than his master, certainly so much later, as he is a follower

Luke.

Qq 4

“ of

(y) Ipse in primis Matthaeus, fidelissimus Evangelii Commentator, ut comes Domini, non aliam ob causam quam ut nos originis Christi carnalis compotes faceret, ita exorsus est: Liber geniturae Jesu Christi filii David, filii Abraham. *De Carne Christi.* cap. 22. p. 376. C.

(z) Lex enim tinguendi imposita est, & forma praecripta. Itē, inquit, docete nationes, tinguentes eas in nomen Patris & Filii & Spiritus Sancti. *De Baptismo.* cap. 13. p. 262. B.

(a) Porro Lucas non Apostolus, sed Apostolicus; non magister, sed discipulus; utique magistro minor; certe tanto posterior, quanto posterioris Apostoli sectator, Pauli sine dubio. *Adv. Marc.* l. 4. c. 2. p. 503. B.

A. D. 200. “ of *Paul*, the last of the Apostles.” I have put down this passage, as expressing again the true character of *Luke*. But *Tertullian* does not say this with a design to diminish St. *Luke*’s testimonie, whose Gospel he just now said, he and all *Christians* in general zealously maintained: but because *Marcion*, with whom he is here arguing, received *Luke*’s Gospel only, and (b) curtailed even that.

John. 3. Having quoted many passages out of St. *John*’s Gospel, he adds: “ How (c) these “ things were spoken, certainly so famous an “ Evangelist and Disciple as *John* knew better than *Praxeas*.”

Acts. VI. The *Acts of the Apostles* are often quoted by *Tertullian* under that title,

“ 1. So that (d) afterwards, says he, we find “ in the Acts of the Apostles, that they who “ had *John*’s baptism had not received “ the Holy Ghost, nor so much as heard, “ whether there was any.” Acts xix.

1. 2. 3. Once, and I think but once, he has

(b) Nam ex iis commentarioribus quos habemus, Luc m videtur Marcion elegisse, quem caederet *ibid*.

(c) Haec quomodo dicta sint, Evangelizator, & utique tam clarus discipulus Joannes, magis quam Praxeas novit. *Adv. Praxeam*. cap. 23. p. 655. D.

(d) Adeo postea in Actis Apostolorum invenimus, quoniam qui Joannis baptismum habebant, non acceperant Spiritum Sanctum, quem ne auditu quidem noverant. *De Baptismo*. cap. x. p. 260. B.

has expressly ascribed this book to St. Luke; calling it (e) *Luke's Commentarie*, or historie.

A. D.
200.

2. He had a great respect for this book.

“ And truly (f) he [*Christ*] fulfilled the promise he had made, (*of sending the Spirit, who should lead the Disciples into all truth*) the Acts of the Apostles attesting the descent of the Holy Spirit. Which scripture they who do not receive, cannot be of the Holy Spirit: nor can they prove the Holy Spirit to have been sent to the disciples, nor can they defend the church: forasmuch as they have nothing to shew, when, and with what beginnings this body was formed.”

This passage shews the great authority and usefulness of this book, and that Christians had then no authentic account of the first preaching and progress of the gospel after our Saviour's resurrection, beside this one book of the Acts of the Apostles; out of which *Tertullian*

(e) Porro, cum in eodem commentario Lucae, & tertia hora orationis demonstratur, sub qua Spiritu Sancto initiati, pro ebriis habebantur; & sexta, qua Petrus ascendit in superiora; &c. *De Jejuniis*. c. x. p. 708. B.

(f) Et utique implevit repromissum, probantibus Actis Apostolorum descensum Spiritus Sancti. Quam scripturam qui non recipiunt, nec Spiritus Sancti esse possunt, qui necdum Spiritum possint agnoscere discipulis missum, sed nec ecclesiam defendere, qui quando, et quibus incunabulis institutum est hoc corpus, probare non habent. *De Praescript. Haeret.* Cap. xxii. p. 239. A. Possumus et hic Acta Apostolorum repudiantibus dicere ib. B.

A. D. *tullian* has quoted so many passages, and
 200. which we still have.

3. Moreover in another place, in a long argument from the epistle to the *Galatians*, speaking of *Paul*, he says: "Then (g) relating his own conversion, how of a persecutor he became an Apostle, he confirms the scripture of the Apostolical Acts, in which likewise the substance of that epistle is confirmed, that there were some who interposed, and said, that men ought to be circumcised, and keep the law of *Moses*." See *Gal.* i. 13—, to the end. Ch. ii. 1—5. *Acts* xv. *Tertullian* proceeds in the historie of that dispute, and the decision of it, as recorded in the *Acts*: and calls it again the *Acts of the Apostles*, and says likewise once more, "that (h) the performance of the promise of the Holy Ghost cannot be otherwise proved, but from the instrument of the Acts," as he there calls it.

VII. Most

(g) Exinde, decurrens ordinem conversionis suae, de persecutore in apostolum, scripturam Actorum Apostolorum confirmat, apud quam ipsa etiam epistolae istius materia recognoscitur, intercessisse quosdam, qui dicerent circumcidi oportere, et observandam esse Moyfi legem. *Adv. Marcion.* l. v. c. 2. p. 578. B.

(h) Quod si et ex hoc congruunt Paulo Apostolorum Acta, cur ea respuatis jam apparet, ut Deum scilicet non aliam praedicantiam quam Creatorem, . . . quando nec promissio Spiritus Sancti aliunde probetur exhibita, quam de instrumento Actorum. *ibid.* C.

VII. Most of St. Paul's epistles are expressly and frequently quoted by Tertullian.

A. D.
200.

St. Paul's
Epistles.
Romans.

" 1. I will therefore by no means (i) say
" Gods, nor Lords: but I will follow the
" Apostle, so that if the Father and the Son
" are to be mentioned together, I will say
" God the Father, and Jesus Christ the Lord.
" But when I mention Christ only, I can call
" him God, as the Apostle does: *of whom*
" *Christ came, who is, says he, God over all*
" *blessed for ever.* Rom. ix. 5." This epistle
is often quoted expressly, among other epistles
of St. Paul, (k) as writ *to the Romans*.

2. " Paul in (l) the first epistle to the Co-
" rinthians speaks of them who denied or
" doubted of a resurrection." See 1 Cor.
ch. xv.

Tertullian, in his book of *Monogamie*, com-
putes

(i) Itaque Deos omnino non dicam, nec Dominos; sed
Apostolum sequar, ut si pariter nominandi fuerint pater et
filius, Deum patrem appellem, et Jesum Christum Dominum
nominem. Solùm autem Christum potero Deum dicere, sicut
idem Apostolus: Ex quibus Christus, qui est, inquit, Deus
super omnia benedictus in ævum omne. *Adv. Praxeam*,
cap. 13. p. 645. D.

(k) Ut cum ad Romanos, Natura facere dicens Nationes ea
quæ sunt legis. *De Corona*, cap. 6. p. 123. C. vid. et *Scor-
piac.* c. 13. p. 631. C. D. et alibi.

(l) Paulus in prima ad Corinthios notat negatores et dubi-
tatores resurrectionis. *De Præscript.* c. 33. p. 243. D.

A. D. ^{200.} *putes (m) it to be about 160 years from St. Paul's writing this epistle to the time when he wrote that book.*

2 Cor.

3. "For indeed (*n*) they suppose the Apostle *Paul* in the second to the *Corinthians* to have forgiven the same fornicator, whom in the first he had declared ought to be delivered to Satan for the destruction of the flesh." Compare 2 Cor. ii. 6—10. with 1 Cor. v. 5.

Galatians.

4. "But (*n*) of this no more needs to be said, if it be the same *Paul*, who writing to the *Galatians* reckons heresies among the works of the flesh, and who directs *Titus* to reject a man that is an heretic, after the first admonition: knowing, that he that is such an one is subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself."

5. "I

(*m*) Quum magis nunc tempus in collecto factum sit, [Vid. 1 Cor. vii. 39.] annis circiter clx. exinde productis. *De Monog. cap. 3. p. 675. B.*

(*n*) Revera enim suspicantur Paulum in secunda ad Corinthios eidem fornicatori veniam dedisse, quem in prima dedendum Satanae in interitum carnis pronuntiarit. *De Pudicitia, c. 13. p. 728. D.*

(*o*) Nec diutius de isto, si idem est Paulus, qui et alibi haereses inter carnalia crimina numerat, scribens ad Galatas; et qui Tito suggerit, hominem haeticum post primam correctionem recusandum, quod perversus sit ejusmodi, et delinquat, ut a semetipso damnatus. *De Praescript. cap. 6. p. 232. B.*

5. "I pass, *says* (*p*) *he*, to another epistle, which we have inscribed to the *Ephesians*, but the heretics to the *Laodiceans*." Afterwards: "According to (*r*) the true testimony of the church, we suppose that epistle to have been sent to the *Ephesians*, not to the *Laodiceans*: But *Marcion* has endeavored to alter the inscription, upon a pretense of his having made a more diligent enquiry into that matter. But the inscriptions are of no importance, since the Apostle wrote to all, when he wrote to some." There are some learned remarks upon the title of this epistle inserted in (*r*) Mr. *La Roche's Literary Journal*, beside what has been said by (*s*) *Mill* and others.

6. "Of which hope (*t*) and expectation *Paul* ^{*Philippians.*}

(*p*) Praetereo hic, et de alia epistola, quam nos ad Ephesios praescriptam habemus, haeretici vero ad Laodiceanos. *Adv. Marcion*, l. v. c. xi. p. 598. C.

(*q*) Ecclesiae quidem veritate epistolam istam ad Ephesios habemus emissam, non ad Laodiceanos; sed Marcion ei titulum aliquando interpolare gestiit, quasi et in isto diligentissimus explorator. Nihil autem de titulis interest, cum ad omnes Apostolus scripserit, dum ad quosdam. *Adv. Marcion*. l. v. c. 17. p. 607. B.

(*r*) *Vol. iii.* p. 165.

(*s*) *Prolegom.* N. 71—79.

(*t*) De qua spe et expectatione Paulus ad Galatas: Nos enim spiritu ex fide spem justitiae expectamus: non ait teneamus. Justitiae autem Dei dicit ex iudicio, quo judicabimur de mercede. Ad quam pendens et ipse, quum Philippensibus scribit, si qua, inquit, concurrat in resurrectionem quae est a mortuis. Non, quia jam accepi, aut consummatus sum. *De Resurrectione Carnis*, c. 23. p. 395. C. D.

A. D.

200.

“ *Paul to the Galatians: For we through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness by faith.* Gal. v. 5. He does not say, we have obtained it. But he speaks of *the hope of the righteousness of God, in the day of Judgement, when our reward shall be decided.* Of which being himself in suspense, when he writes to the *Philippians* *If by any means, says he, I might attain to the resurrection of the dead: Not, as though I had already attained, or were perfect.* Philip. iii. 11. 12.

Colossians.

7. “ From (u) which things [endless genealogies and unprofitable questions] the Apostle restraining us, expressly cautions us against philosophic, writing to the *Colossians*: *Beware, lest any man spoil you through philosophy, and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, not after the instruction of the Holy Spirit.*” Coloss. ii. 8.

1 & 2 Thes.

8. “ And in (x) the same epistle to the *Thessalonians*, he [the Apostle] adds: But
“ of

(u) A quibus nos Apostolus refrenans nominatim philosophiam contestatur caveri oportere scribens ad Colossenses: Videte ne quis vos circumveniat per philosophiam et inanem seductionem, secundum traditionem hominum, praeter providentiam Spiritus Sancti. *De Praescr.* c. 7. p. 233. A.

(x) Et in ipsa ad Thessalonicenses epistola suggerit: De temporibus autem et temporum spatiis, fratres, non est necessari-

“ of the times and the seasons, brethren, there
 “ is no need that I write to you. For your-
 “ selves know perfectly, that the day of the
 “ Lord so cometh as a thief in the night. . . .
 “ 1 *Theff.* v. 1. 2. 3.] And in the second
 “ [epistle] to the same persons he writes with
 “ greater sollicitude: *But I beseech you, bre-*
 “ *thren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus*
 “ *Christ, that ye be not soon shaken in mind,*
 “ *nor be troubled . . . 2 Theff. ii. 1,—7.*

A. D.
200.

9. “ And this (y) word Paul has used 1 & 2 *Tim!*
 “ writing to *Timothie*: O *Timothie*, keep the
 “ *depositum*, [or according to our translation]
 “ *that which is committed to thy trust.* [1 *Tim.*
 “ vi. 20.] And again: *That good thing which*
 “ *was committed to thee keep.*” 2 *Tim.* i. 14.
 He quotes there several other passages of both
 these epistles.

10. I need not put down here any passage *Titus*:
 concerning the epistle to *Titus*, it being quot-
 ed already as (x) *Paul's*, and will be men-
 tioned again in the following passage.

11. *Ter-*

tas scribendi vobis. . . . Et in secunda pleniore sollicitudine
 ad eosdem: Obsecro autem vos, fratres, per adventum Do-
 mini. . . . *De Resurrectione Carnis. cap. 24. p. 396. C. D.*

(y) Et hoc verbo usus est Paulus ad Timotheum: O Timo-
 thee depositum custodi. Et rursus: Bonum depositum serva.
De Praeser. H. c. 25. p. 240. A.

(x) See p. 592.

A. D.

200.

Philemon.

11. *Tertullian* has no where in his remaining works quoted any thing from the epistle to *Philemon*, nor expressly named it. We may well ascribe this to it's brevity. But yet there is a passage, which must relate to this epistle, and where one may be apt to think it had been named by *Tertullian*, though it does not stand there in our present copies. He had quoted and argued from some texts out of the epistle to the *Philippians*, and then the words of 1 *Thess.* iv. 17. after this manner. "But
 " we (a), says he, *shall be caught up together*
 " *with them in the clouds to meet the Lord.* If
 " taken up with them, then also changed
 " with them. This epistle alone has had an
 " advantage from it's brevity, for hereby it
 " has escaped the falsifying hands of *Marcion*.
 " Nevertheless I wonder, that when he re-
 " ceives an epistle to one man, he should re-
 " ject two to *Timothie*, and one to *Titus*,
 " which treat of the government of the
 " church. He had a mind, I suppose, to
 " alter

(a) Atquin, cum illis, dicit, simul rapiemur in nubibus obviam Domino. Si cum illis sublati, utique cum illis et transfigurati. Soli huic epistolae brevitatis sua profuit, ut falsarias manus Marcionis evaderet. Miror tamen, quum ad unum hominem litteras factas receperit, quid ad Timotheum duas, et unam ad Titum, de ecclesiastico statu compositas recusaverit. Adfectavit, opinor, etiam numerum epistolarum interpolare. *Adv. Marcion.* l. v. cap. ult. p. 615. D.

“alter also the number of the epistles:” that is, as he had done of the Gospels.

A. D.
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Here is a character of the epistle to *Philemon*: it is writ to *one person*, and it does not concern ecclesiastical matters, or relate to the government of the church, as those to *Timothie* and *Titus*. And if the words, *brevity of this epistle*, relate to the epistle afterwards spoken of, as writ to *one person*, here is another thing very suitable to it. Nor can those words relate to the first to the *Thessalonians* just quoted before, which is longer than the second to the *Thessalonians*, and that to *Titus*: not to mention the second to *Timothie*, though it is also longer than that. Nor is there any reason to suspect a reference to the second or third of *St. John*, because here is no mention of any but *St. Paul's* epistles; beside that, as *Mr. Richardson* (b) observes, *Marcion rejected all the canonical epistles, and consequently the second and third of St. John, which also were not at that time generally embraced by the Catholics*. And indeed it seems to me, as I have already hinted, that the epistle to *Philemon* was originally mentioned here by *Tertullian*,

R r

but

(b) *The Canon of the New Testament vindicated*, §. iv. p. 2. in the notes.

A. D.

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but has been dropped out of our copies. However here is still enough to satisfy us, the discourse is about that epistle, and that it was received by *Tertullian*, and the Catholic Church, as a part of scripture.

If it were needful, to say any thing more, to confirm this argument; I might add, that we are expressly assured by (c) *Epiphanius*, that the epistle to *Philemon* was one of the ten epistles of *St. Paul*, which *Marcion* received. Moreover there is a passage in (d) *Jerome's* works, which seems to shew, that he also understood *Tertullian's* words, as I have explained them.

*Authentic
Letters.*

VIII. There is a remarkable and well known passage of *Tertullian*, which may be not improperly put down here. "Well, if
" you (e) be willing to exercise your curio-
" fity

(c) *Epiph. H. 42. n. ix. p. 310. A.*

(d) Et quoniam Marcionis fecimus mentionem, Pauli esse epistolam ad Philemonem, saltem Marcione auctore doceantur. Qui cum ceteras epistolas ejusdem vel non suscepit, vel quaedam in his mutaverit atque corroserit, in hanc solam manus non est ausus committere, quia sua illam brevis de- fendeat. *Hieron. Proem. in Ep. ad Philem.*

(e) Age jam qui voles curiositatem melius exercere in negotio salutis tuae, percurrere ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas ipsae adhuc cathedrae Apostolorum suis locis praesident; apud quas ipsae authenticae litterae eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem, et repraesentantes faciem uniuscujusque. Proxima est tibi Achaia? habes Corinthum. Si non longe es a Macedo-
nia,

“ fity profitably in the busineffe of your salva- A. D.
200.
 “ tion ; vifit the Apostolical churches, in
 “ which the very chairs of the Apostles ftill
 “ prefide, in which their very authentic let-
 “ ters are recited, founding forth the voice,
 “ and representing the countenance of each
 “ one of them. Is *Achaia* near you? You
 “ have *Corinth*. If you are not far from *Ma-*
 “ *cedonia*, you have *Philippi*, you have *Thef-*
 “ *salonica*. If you can go to *Afia* you have
 “ *Ephesus*. But if you are near to *Italie*, you
 “ have *Rome*, from whence we alfo may be
 “ eafily fatisfied.”

By *authentic letters* some (*f*) underftand
 the Originals themfelves, fent in the Apostle’s
 hand-writing, or that of the perfon who wrote
 for him, and figned at the conclufion by
 himfelf. *Rigaltius* (*g*) in his note upon this
R r 2
place

nia, habes Philippos, habes Theffalonicenfes. Si potes Afiam
 tendere, habes Ephesum. Si autem Italiae adjaces, habes
 Romam, unde nobis quoque auctoritas praefto eft. *De Prae-*
fcrip. cap. 36. p. 245. B.

(*f*) Sequuntur Epistolae Paulinae, quas a prima ufq; fcrip-
 tione celeberrimas fecere ipsius Apostoli tam crebrae peregrina-
 tiones, et nota ejus in omni epiftola manus, et autographa ea-
 rum in illis quibus datae effent ecclefiis diutiffime ad Tertulliani
 ufque tempora confervata. *Dodwell. Diff. Iren.* i. §. 41. See
Richardson’s Canon of the New Testament vindicated, p. 118.
 And to the like purpofe others.

(*g*) *Ipsae authenticae litterae eorum.*] Lingua fcilicet ea-
 dem qua fuerunt ab apostolis confcriptae, fonantes vocem cu-
 jusque. Sic ipse de Monogamia ad Graecum authenticum
 Pauli provocat. *Rigalt.*

A. D.

200.

place explains the word *Authentic* in the sense of the original *Greek* language, in which the epistles were written : and supports his interpretation (b) by another place of *Tertullian*, where he uses the phrase *authentic Greek* ; appealing to that for the true meaning of *St. Paul* in one of his epistles. *Richard (i) Simon*, who embraces the same interpretation, has referred to a passage of *St. Jerome*, where he uses the phrase, *authentic books*, for the scriptures of the Old Testament, in the original *Hebrew* language, in opposition to *Greek* or other versions, not for the books in the original hand-writing of the Prophets. So *Tertullian*, the churches of *Africa* using only a *Latin* version of the New Testament, calls the *Greek* text *authentic*.

I think,

(b) Sciamus plane non sic esse in Graeco authentico. *De Monog.* c. xi. p. 684. A.

(i) Comme on ne lisoit dans les Eglises d'Afrique que la Version Latine du Nouveau Testament, il donne le nom d'authentique au Texte Grec. *St. Jerome* se sert aussi d'un semblable expression au regard de l'Ancien Testament, quand il oppose le Texte Ebreu aux Versions Grecque et Latine : car il appelle le premier, *veritatem Hebraicam*, la vérité Ebraïque ; voulant marquer par là les Originaux de l'Ecriture, qu'il nomme même, comme *Tertullien*, *Authenticos Libros*, dans son commentaire sur le Chap. 64. du Prophete *Isaie*. Il ne croyoit pour cela que ce fussent les premiers Originaux écrits de la main des Prophetes. *Histoire Crit. du Texte du N. T.* Ch. iv. p. 40.

I think, this must be allowed to be a difficult passage. And I question, whether either of these interpretations represents to us the true meaning of it. Though *Tertullian* is an obscure writer, I hope it will not be thought trifling, to propose a few remarks, to determine, if possible, his precise meaning.

A. D.

200.

1. *Tertullian* by *Authentic Letters* does not mean the Original Epistles. If that be his meaning, the persons, whom he sends to some one of these places, could have received satisfaction only concerning one or two at the most of *St. Paul's* epistles, sent thither. If they had gone to all these churches, they could have seen no more than the Originals of several of *St. Paul's* epistles: whereas he supposes that by visiting these Apostolical churches, they might hear the authentic letters recited, *sounding forth the voice, and representing the countenance of each one* of the Apostles; that is, of those of them who had writ. It is very improbable, that *Tertullian* meant no more, than that they (of *Africa*) might be satisfied of the genuinenesse of *St. Paul's* epistle to the *Romans*, by sending or going to *Rome*: *Unde nobis quoque auctoritas praesto est.*

2. Nor does he mean letters in their original language. He speaks of the language in

A. D. which they were *recited*, or read, *sounding*
 200. *forth the voice* of the Apostles. And he sends
 some to *Rome*. But it is probable, that in
 that church the scriptures were read in the
Latin tongue. Besides, he proposes a visit to
Corinth, or *Philippi*, or *Ephesus*, to be made
 by those who were near *Achaia*, or *Macedo-*
nia, or *Asia*: whereas, it is probable, that
 they who were near these countreys had the
 scriptures read to them in their own churches
 in the original *Greek* language: and had no
 occasion to go from home to see, or hear a
Greek epistle of *St. Paul*.

3. By *Authentic Letters* Tertullian seems
 to mean certain, well attested. The *Greek*
 word is so used by (k) *Cicero*. And by *au-*
thenticae literae we are not to understand *au-*
thentic letters, or epistles, but *scriptures*. So
 the word ought in my opinion to (l) be ren-
 dered. This passage may be well reckoned
 parallel

(k) Quid quaeris? etiam illud erat persuasum, Pompeium
 cum magnis copiis iter in Germaniam per Illyricum fecisse.
 id enim ἀνθετυξῶς nuntiabatur. *Ad Att.* l. x. ep. 9. ad quem
 locum *Ursinus*. Videtur scribendum in *Galliam*, ex loco si-
 mili in ep. 6. *Pompeium PROCERTO labemus per Illyricum*
proficisci in Galliam.

(l) Apud literas sanctas ordine cognoscitur. *Ap.* c. xxii. p.
 23. C. Ipsi literarum nostrarum fidem accendunt. c. xxiii.
 p. 26. A. Inspice Dei voces, literas nostras. c. xxx. p. 30. D.
 Coimus ad literarum divinarum commemorationem. c. xxxi.
 p. 34. D.

parallel with another before transcribed, where he appeals to the Apostolical churches for the genuinnesse and sincerity of the Gospel of *St. Luke*, used by all Christians in general, and afterwards for the genuinnesse likewise of the other three Gospels. He appeals there to almost the same churches, that he does here; the *Corinthians*, *Galatians*, *Philippians*, *Ephesians*, and *Romans*. Of the last he speaks to this purpose: *Let us see likewise*, says he, *what the Romans recite, or sound forth, who are near to us, with whom both Peter and Paul left the Gospel sealed with their blood. We have also churches, which are disciples of John.— With all these is that Gospel of Luke received, which we so zealously maintain.* Just so here, after the mention of divers others: “ But if
 “ you are near to *Italie*, you have *Rome*,
 “ whence we also may be easily satisfied.
 “ How (*m*) happy is that church, to
 “ which the Apostles delivered the whole
 “ evangelical doctrine together with their
 “ blood: Where *Peter* suffered the same
 R r 4 “ death

(*m*) *Ista quam felix ecclesia! cui totam doctrinam Apostoli cum sanguine profuderunt: ubi Petrus passioni Dominicae adaequatur: ubi Paulus Joannis exitu coronatur: ubi Apostolus Joannes posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus, nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur. De Praeser. Haer. c. 36. p. 245. B.*

A. D. 200. " death which the Lord did : Where Paul
 " was crowned with the death of John :
 " Where (E) the Apostle John, after he had
 " been cast into a caldron of boyling oyle,
 " without suffering any harm, was banished
 " into an island !"

As *Tertullian* before appealed to the Apostolical churches for the integrity of St. *Luke's* Gospel, so here he proposes to such persons as were curious a visit to some Apostolical church, which was nearest to them : where the *very authentic*, well attested, genuine and uncorrupted *scriptures* of the Apostles are re-
cited.

(E) That storie is received by some, by others it is reckoned to be doubtful, and by others rejected as a fiction. Authors, with references to them, may be seen in *Lampe Prolegom. de Vit. Joan. Ev. l. i. c. 4. n. iii. iv. v.* Who himself rejects it, and argues in this manner. First, it relies almost entirely upon the sole credit of *Tertullian*. Secondly, it is omitted by several ancient writers, who would have mentioned it, if there had been any good ground for it : as *Irenaeus*, *Origen*, and some others : who speak of the sufferings of the Apostles, and *John's* banishment into *Patmos*, and yet say nothing of this extraordinary miracle. And though *Jerome* has occasionally mentioned it once or twice, he takes no notice of it in the historie of this Apostle inserted in his book of *Illustrious Men*. Thirdly, nor does this storie in it's circumstances suit the time in which it is placed. For it is not known, that casting into oyle was a punishment then in use. That learned author thinks, this storie might be invented, or at least more readily received, as an accomplishment of Christ's prophetic concerning the two sons of *Zebedee*. Ego fabulam illam eo avidius acceptam esse censco, ut ita eo clarior redderetur sensus predictionis Christi de poculo passionum filiis Zebedaei proponendo.

cited. It is not then an appeal to these churches A. D.
200. for the genuinnesse of one or more epistles of *Paul*, writ to them in particular: But it is an appeal to each one of these churches for the certainty, genuinnesse, and integrity of all the scriptures of the New Testament, which they held sacred, and constantly read in their assemblies; whether Gospels or Epistles, writ by *Paul*, or other Apostles, or by Apostolical men. Though every church, which had communion with Apostolical churches, had copies of the several books of the New Testament that might be relied on as genuine and sincere; yet he supposes it to be a satisfaction to know at the first hand, what was read in the churches planted by Apostles: and that the labour of a visit to some of them was not unbecoming men of curiosity. Here lies the stress of the argument. The Scriptures received by Apostolical churches are *authentic*: The testimonie (n) given by those churches, according to *Tertullian*, is an authentic, original, certain testimonie.

I am

(n) Ceterum si et retro decucurrerit [Evangelium] habuit utique authenticam paraturam, per quam ad Lucam usque pervenit, cujus testimonio adistente, Lucas quoque possit admitti. *Adv. Marcion.* l. 4. c. 2. p. 503. c. Thus the testimonie of Apostolical churches is authentic, and prior to that of others.

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I am not positive in this interpretation, though it appears to me probable. If I understand this passage right, it would be more properly placed lower, after we have considered this author's particular testimonies to the rest of the books of the New Testament. But I thought it might be too presuming to defer a passage any longer, which has been so generally supposed to relate particularly to some epistles only of St. *Paul*.

Hebrews.

IX. We are in the next place to observe, how the epistle to the *Hebrews* is quoted by him, when he was plainly a *Montanist*. Having argued from the epistles of *Paul* and the first of St. *John*, and proved his point sufficiently from Apostles, as he supposeth, he proceeds: " Nevertheless (o) I am willing
" over

(o) Disciplina igitur Apostolorum proprie quidem instruit ac determinat.—Volo tamen ex redundantia alicujus etiam comitis Apostolorum testimonium superinducere, idoneum confirmandi de proximo jure disciplinam Magistrorum. Exstat enim et Barnabae titulus ad Hebraeos, adeo satis auctoritatis viro, ut quem Paulus juxta se constituerit in abstinentiae tenore: Aut ego solus et Barnabas non habemus hoc operandi potestatem? Et utique receptior apud ecclesias epistola Barnabae illo apocrypho-pastore moechorum. Monens itaque discipulos, omisis omnibus initiis, ad perfectionem magis tendere, nec rursus fundamenta poenitentiae jacere operibus mortuorum; Impossibile est enim, inquit, eos qui semel illuminati sunt, et donum coeleste gustaverunt, et participaverunt spiritum sanctum, et verbum Dei dulce gustaverunt, occidente jam aevo cum exciderint, rursus revocari in poenitentiam,

“ over and above to allege the testimonie of a
 “ companion of the Apostles, a fit person to
 “ shew at the next remove, what was the sen-
 “ timent of the masters. For there is an e-
 “ pistle of *Barnabas*, inscribed *to the He-*
 “ *brews*: writ by a man of such authority,
 “ that *Paul* has placed him with himself in
 “ the same course of abstinence: *Or I only*
 “ *and Barnabas, have we not power to forbear*
 “ *working*: [or, *of doing (p) this*, that is,
 “ *to carry about a sister.*] 1 Cor. ix. 6. And
 “ certainly the epistle of *Barnabas* [*He means*
 “ *the epistle to the Hebrews*] is more generally
 “ received by the churches, than the apocry-
 “ phal pastor of adulterers. [that is *Hermas.*]
 “ Admonishing then his disciples, *leaving all*
 “ *first principles, rather to go on to perfection,*
 “ *and not to lay again the foundation of repen-*
 “ *tance from the works of the dead*: For it is
 “ *impossible, says he, for those who were once*
 “ *enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly*
 “ *gift,*

A. D.
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tiam, refigentes cruci in semetipsos filium Dei et dedecorantes.
 . . . Hoc qui ab apostolis didicit, et cum apostolis docuit, nun-
 quam moecho et fornicatori secundam poenitentiam promif-
 sam ab apostolis nôrat. Optime enim legem interpretabatur,
 et figuras ejus jam in ipsa veritate servabat. *De Pudicitia.*
 cap. 20. p. 741. C. D.

(p) So it is at present in *Tertullian*. *Mill* supposes this to
 be a corrupt reading of that text. 1 Cor. ix. 6. *Prolegom.* n.
 552.

A. D.
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“ gift, and were made partakers of the Holy
 “ Ghost, and have tasted the sweet word of God,
 “ if they fall away now at the end of the world,
 “ to recall them again to repentance, since they
 “ crucify again the Son of God to themselves,
 “ and put him to an open shame. . . . [Heb. vi.
 “ 1. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.] He who learned this
 “ from the Apostles, and taught with the A-
 “ postles, never knew that a second repen-
 “ tance had been promised by the Apostles to
 “ an adulterer and a fornicator. For he ex-
 “ cellently interprets the law, and shews it's
 “ figures in the truth.”

Here is enough to satisfy us, that he means the same epistle to the *Hebrews*, which we have under that title : and that he supposed it to be writ by *Barnabas*, an Apostolical man, who had been taught by Apostles, and taught with them, but especially with *Paul*.

This is the only passage of *Tertullian*, in which this epistle is expressly quoted. But I am willing to observe also the other places, in which it may seem to be referred to ; that we may the better judge of the respect he had for it, or what authority it was of with him.

We find then in him these following expressions :

pressions: “*That (q) Word called his Son, seen of the Patriarchs in divers manners, in the name of God, alwaies heard in the Prophets, at last brought down by the spirit and power of God the Father into the Virgin Mary. &c.*” See *Hebr.* i. 1. 2. and presently after he says: “*being taken (r) up into heaven, he sat down on the right hand of the Father.*” See ver. 3. The expressions in another book, that have been thought to allude to the words of ver. 4, have a small resemblance with them. But in the same (s) place he observes: “*Who makes, saith he, his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire.*” ver. 7. See *Pf.* civ. 4. And likewise: “*That he had not put in subjection the world to man incapable of governing, and not higher than the angels, to whom he has not put in subjection any such thing.*” Where may be thought an allusion to *ch. ii.* 5. 6. 7. He calls

(q) Id verbum filium ejus appellatum, in nomine Dei varie visum a Patriarchis, in Prophetis semper auditum, postremo delatum &c. *De Praescript.* cap. 13. p. 235. c.

(r) In coelos ereptum sedisse ad dexteram Patris. *ibid.*

(s) Sed et imago et similitudo Dei, fortior angelo; sed ad flatum Dei generosior spiritu materiali, quo angeli constiterunt. Qui facit, inquit, spiritus angelos, et apparitores flammam ignis. Quia nec universitatem homini subiecisset infirmo dominandi, et non potiori angelis, quibus nihil tale subjecit. *Adv. Marc.* lib. 2. p. 459. D.

A. D.
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calls *Melchisedec* (t) *Priest of the most High God* more than once. See *Hebr. vii. 1. Gen. xiv. 18.* He speaks of (u) *Christ's* being *God's High Priest, a Priest for ever, and after the order of Melchisedec*: which things are treated of in the epistle to the *Hebrews*: but *Tertullian* (x) seems to deduce them from *Psalms cx. 4.* In another place he observes the enmity, which there had been against virtue in this world, from the very beginning; That "*Abel* (y) was murdered by his brother; " and that not only righteous men, but Prophets also had been ill treated: that *David* " was harassed, *Elias* banished, *Jeremie* " stoned, and *Esaïas* sawn asunder." Where may be thought a reference to *Hebr. xi. 4. 32. 37.* In another place he says: " If we " (z) think some evils are laid upon us by " the

(t) Unde Melchisedek sacerdos Dei summi nuncupatus? *Adv. Judaeos. C. 2. p. 206. D. Quid Ezechias ad Melchisedek Altissimi sacerdotem. Adv. Marc. l. v. p. 593. B.*

(u) Sed Jesus iste Christus Dei patris summus sacerdos. *Adv. Jud. cap. 14. p. 229. A. Tu es sacerdos in aevum. Adv. Marc. l. 5. p. 593. B. At in Christum conveniet ordo Melchisedek. ibid.*

(x) Sed et hic psalmus Salomoni canere dicitur. *ibid. C.*

(y) Statim ut coli Deus coepit, invidiam religio fortita est. Qui Deo placuerat, occiditur, et quidem a fratre. . . . Denique non modo justorum, verumetiam et Prophetarum. *David* exagitatur, *Helias* fugatur, *Heremias* lapidatur, *Esaïas* fecatur. *Scorpiac. C. viii. p. 624. B. C.*

(z) Quod si a Domino nonnulla credimus incuti, cui magis pati

“ the Lord, toward whom should we behave A. D.
200.
 “ ourselves patiently, if not to him? Ye ra-
 “ ther we are taught to rejoice and be glad of
 “ the favour of divine chastisement: *I, says he,*
 “ *chastise whom I love.* See *Hebr.* xii. 5. 6.
Prov. iii. 11. 12. Once more, he observes,
 that (a) *Christ suffered without the city.* See
Hebr. xiii. 11. 12.

Whether in these passages there is an allusion to this epistle to the *Hebrews*, is not easie to determine. But supposing that *Tertullian* borrowed these thoughts from it, or was led to them by reading it; we are however obliged, I think, to judge of his respect for it by the first passage, in which he has expressly quoted it. And upon that passage we may now make the following remarks.

1. That at that time it was received by a good number of Christian churches, and those, as we may reasonably suppose, of the *Latin* communion, which had their place in those parts of the *Roman* Empire, where the *Latin* tongue was used, with which churches *Tertullian*

patientiam quam Domino praebeamus? Quin insuper gratulari et gaudere nos docet, dignatione Divinae castigationis. Ego, inquit, quos diligo, castigo. *De Patientia*, c. xi. p. 166. B.

(a) Extra civitatem crucifixus est. *Adv. Judaeos.* cap. 14. p. 229. B.

A. D. *tullian* was most particularly acquainted. By
 200.
 many of these churches it was received, by more than the *Shepherd of Hermas*, but not by all.

2. *Tertullian* ascribes this epistle to *Barnabas*. This must have been therefore a common opinion at that time in the churches, with which he was acquainted. If he had had any good ground to ascribe it to *Paul*, he would have done it here, where he esteemed the sentiments of that epistle favorable to him, and was willing to make the best advantage of it.

3. It does not appear, that he gave the highest degree of respect to this epistle. He considers it only as written by an Apostolical man, and of authority next to the Apostles.

4. Nor does it plainly and certainly appear from any thing which *Tertullian* has said, what respect was paid to this epistle by those churches which received it: or, whether they received it, as of the highest authority or not.

*Thirteen
Epistles of
Paul.*

X. I think it is now evident, that *Tertullian* received thirteen epistles of *St. Paul*, and that they were received universally, or generally by the Christians of his time. The epistle

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to the *Hebrews* he supposed to have been writ
by *Barnabas*.

A. D.
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Catholic
Epistles.
James.

XI. We proceed to the Catholic epistles.
1. And here we are first to enquire, whether

Tertullian received the epistle of St. *James*. In his exposition of that petition of the Lord's prayer, *Lead us not into temptation*, he says: "But (b) far be it from us to suppose, that the Lord should seem to tempt, as if he was ignorant of any man's faith, or had a desire to overthrow it." Which somewhat resembles *James* i. 13. *Let no man say, when he is tempted: I am tempted of God: for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man.* But I believe, few can be influenced by this to conclude, he owned this epistle.

In another place he says: "Whence (c) was *Abraham* accounted the friend of God, but for the practise of the equity and justice of the law of nature?" St. *James* says: ii. 23. *And the scripture was fulfilled, which saith: Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to*
S f him

(b) Ceterum absit ut [Dominus tentare videatur, quasi ignoret fidem cujusque, aut dejicere gestiens. *De oratione. cap.*

8. p. 152. B.

(c) Unde Abraham amicus Dei deputatus, si non de aequitate et justitia legis naturalis? *Adv. Judaeos. cap. 2. p.*
206. D.

A. D. 200. *him for righteousness: and he was called the friend of God.* Abraham has this title 2 Chron. xx. 7. *Is. xli. 8.* I think, neither of these places sufficient to prove, that *Tertullian* was acquainted with this epistle.

Once more: "Who (*d*) now should better know the marrow of the scriptures, than the school of Christ itself? . . . To whom should he rather reveal his mind, than to whom he shewed his glorie? *Peter, James, John, and afterwards Paul?*" And then he immediatly quotes the first epistle of *Peter*, and first of *John*, and his *Revelation*, and several epistles of *Paul*. But nothing from the epistle of *James*, though it might have been so much to his purpose. The quotation from *Peter* is: 1 Ep. ii. 20. 21. *For what glorie is it, if when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently?—* And again iv. 12. 13. 15. *Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial, which is to try you. . . It would have been as much to his purpose to have cited also James i. 2. My brethren, count it all joy, when ye fall into di-*

(*d*) Quis nunc medullas scripturarum magis nosset, quam ipsa schola Christi? . . . Cui potius figuram vocis suae declarasset, quam cui effigiem gloriæ suae revelavit; Petro, Jacobo, Joanni, et postea Paulo? *Scorpiac. cap. 12. p. 630. B.*

vers temptations; and ver. 3, and 12. . . . A. D.
200.

Moreover after the quotations from *Peter*, *John*, and *Paul*, he comes to the *Acts*: Where, as he observes, are recorded the afflictions and sufferings of *Peter*, *Stephen*, *James*, *Paul* and others. Considering all these things, and that *James*, the author of the epistle which we have, could not be *James*, who saw *Christ's* glorie, but *James* the *Just*, or some other of that name; it seems to me very probable, that *Tertullian* knew nothing of any epistle of *James*.

Nor was he in the least obliged to omit our epistle of *James*, because it was not writ by *James* who saw *Christ's* glorie: forasmuch as after the quotations from *Peter*, *John*, and *Paul*, whom he at first expressly mentioned, he quotes also the *Acts* and the Gospels.

And if we consider, that he knew, and has referred to the short epistles of *Titus* and *Philemon*, as has been shewn; his not citing the epistle of *James* in this remarkable place, nor in any other part of his remaining works, must amount to a kind of proof, that he knew nothing at all of this epistle: or, that he did not esteem it a book of authority, if he did know it. But the former appears to me the more probable supposition of the two.

A. D.
200.

Mill (e) thinks it likely, that *Tertullian* refers to St. *James*, when he observes in the place before quoted, that *Abraham* was accounted the friend of God: but that nevertheless he did not esteem this epistle a book of authority, or a part of the canon.

1 *Peter*.

2. The first epistle of *Peter* is expressly quoted as his. In the place just cited, having mentioned those who saw Christ's glorie, he adds: "*Peter (f)* says to the people of *Pontus*: How great glorie is it, if when ye are punished not for your faults, ye take it patiently? For this is acceptable, and even hereunto were ye called; because Christ also suffered for us, leaving you an example, that ye should follow his steps." 1 Pet. ii. 20. 21. To which he adds the words of Ch. iv. ver. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. The words themselves and the title assure us, he refers to our first epistle of St. *Peter*, which is inscribed to the *Strangers*,

(e) In ea [*Ecclesia Africana*] enim licet jam seculo tertio Tertullianus ad versum 23 Cap. 2. hujus Epistolae digitum intendisse videatur, dum libr. contra Judaeos cap. 2. scribit Abrahamum, *amicum Dei deputatum esse*; non tamen auctoritate ejus ad probandum aliquod fidei dogma usus est, aut diserte ipsam Canonicis Scripulis accensuit. *Prolegom.* n. 207.

(f) Petrus quidem ad Ponticos: Quanta enim, inquit, gloria, si non ut delinquentes puniamini, sustinetis? Haec enim gratia est, in hoc et vocati estis. &c. *Scorpiac.* cap. 12. p. 630. c.

strangers, scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, and other countreys thereabout. Again, soon after: "Peter (g) appointed, that the King should be honored." Referring to 1 Ep. Ch. ii. 13. These are the only places, I think, where this epistle is expressly quoted by him as Peter's.

A. D.
200.

3. There are in *Tertullian* no express quotations of the second epistle of *Peter*, or references to it.

Tertullian in his *Apologie* asserts, that all the power of Demons and such like spirits is subject to Christians: but yet he owns, that they molest them, and excite persecutions. He accounts for this several ways. One of his solutions is this: "Besides, being (*b*) already condemned, it is a consolation to them, in their desperate condition, to do mischief, during the delay of punishment." Possibly some may think, that here is an allusion to 2 *Pet.* ii. 4. But there is a text to the same purpose in *Jude* ver. 6. which epistle was owned by *Tertullian*, as we

S f 3

shall

(g) Condixerat, scilicet Petrus, Regem quidem honorandum. ib. c. 14. p. 633. A.

(b) Praeterque et desperata conditio eorum ex praedamnatione solatium reputat fruendae interim malignitatis de poenae mora. *Apol.* c. 27. p. 29. A.

A. D.
200.

shall see presently. But there is no good reason to suppose here an allusion to either of those texts. This was a common notion among the *Jews*, as may be concluded from what some *Demoniacs* said to Christ. *Matth.* viii. 29. See also *Mark* v. 27. *Luke* viii. 28. And it might be common likewise among the Christians, who by this time had learned several things from the Jews. *Lactantius* has a (i) like thought.

1 *John.*

4. The first epistle of *John* is often quoted. In the place just cited for the first of *Peter*, where he had mentioned the four Apostles, who saw *Christ's* glorie, he says: "*John* (k) exhorts us to lay down our lives for the brethren, denying there is any fear in love: for perfect love casteth out fear, and what follows." 1 *John* iii. 16. and iv. 18. In another place. "Lastly (l) let us consider, whom the Apostles saw: That which we

(i) Ita Diaboli satellites facti, ut haberent solatium perditionis suae, ad perdendos homines se converterunt, quos ut tuerentur advenerunt. *Lactant. Epit. cap. 17. p. 42. edit. Pfaff. Conf. Orig. in Num. Hom. xiii. n. 7.*

(k) Joannes vero, ut etiam pro fratribus nostris animas ponamus, hortatur, negans timorem esse in dilectione. &c. *Scorpiac. c. 12. p. 630. D.*

(l) Denique, inspiciamus quem Apostoli viderint. Quod videmus, inquit Joannes, quod audivimus, oculis nostris videmus, et manus nostrae contrectaverunt de sermone vitae. Sermo enim vitae caro factus est . . . et vidimus gloriam ejus, tanquam unigeniti a patre. &c. *Adv. Praxeam. Cap. 15. p. 647. A. B.*

“ have seen, says John, *which we have heard,* A. D.
200.
 “ *which we have seen with our eyes, and our*
 “ *hands have handled of the word of life. For*
 “ *the word of life was made flesh. . . . And*
 “ *we saw his glorie, as of the only begoten*
 “ *of the Father.”* 1 *John* i. 1. *John* i. 14.
 Here is full proof, that he ascribed this first
 epistle to *John* the Apostle and Evangelist.

In another place: “ Whom (*m*) the A-
 “ postle *John* calls antichrists, as denying
 “ Christ is come in the flesh:” which is
 thought to be a reference to 2 *John* 7. But is
 not decisive, because he writes to the same
 purpose in the first epistle ch. ii. 18. 22. but
 especially iv. 3. *Tertullian* has more than
 once referred to these words (*n*) as in an e-
 pistle of *John*. And farther speaking of he-
 retics he says, “ we (*o*) are forbid to converse
 “ with them:” in which he has been sup-
 posed to refer to 2 *John* 10. *Receive him not*

S f 4

into

(*m*) — quos Apostolus Joannes Antichristos pronuntia-
 vit, negantes Christum in carne venisse. *Adv. Marc. lib. 3.*
cap. 8. p. 483. B.

(*n*) At in epistola eos maxime antichristos vocat [*Johannes*]
 qui Christum negarent in carne venisse, et qui non putarent
 Jesum esse filium Dei. *De Praescript. cap. 33. p. 244. B.*
 Certè, qui negat Christum in carne venisse, hic Antichristus
 est. *De carne Christi. cap. 24. p. 378. A.*

(*o*) Apud haereticos? ubi omnia extranea et adversaria nos-
 trae veritati; ad quos vetamur accedere. *De Praescr. cap.*
12. p. 235. B.

A. D.
200. *into your house, neither bid him God speed. But*
he may as well refer to *Paul's* advice. Tit. iii.
10. *A man that is an heretic, after the first*
and second admonition, reject: And probably
does so.

There (*p*) is an expression in *Tertullian*, which at first sight may be understood, as if he spoke of a *former epistle of John*: but it means only *the former part of the same epistle*. *Tertullian* is shewing that something said by *St. John*, in that first epistle, is not inconsistent with what he had said in the former part of it: as may appear to any one that consults the place, and reads that whole chapter of our author. There is therefore no proof of *Tertullian's* owning, or knowing the second epistle of *John*. As for the third, there does not appear any the least notice of it in *Tertullian's* remaining works.

It is supposed by some learned men, that
Tertullian

(*p*) Juxta est igitur ut excidisse sibi dicamus Joannem in primore quidem epistola negantem nos sine delicto esse; nunc vero praescribentem non delinquere omnino. *De Pudic. c. 19. p. 740. D.* Ita Joanni ratio constabit diversitatis, distinctionem delictorum disponenti, cum delinquere filios Dei nunc adnuit, nunc abnuit. Prospiciebat enim clausulam litterarum suarum, et illi praestruebat hos sensus, dicturus in fine manifestius: si quis scit fratrem suum delinquere delictum non ad mortem, postulabit, &c. *ib. p. 741. A.*

(q) *Tertullian* has alluded to the disputed *A. D.* text, which we have in 1 *John* v. 7. 8. I ^{200.} have put his words in the margin.

5. There is one plain quotation of the e- *Jude*. pistle of St. *Jude*, the only place in which it is mentioned. "Hence (r) it is, *says he*, that "*Enoch* is quoted by the Apostle *Jude*," referring to *Jude* ver. 14.

XII. The Revelation of *John* is often quo- *Revela-* tion. ted. I put together two or three passages, which shew his full persuasion, it was writ by the Apostle and Evangelist of that name. "*John* (s) in his Apocalypse is commanded "to correct those who eat things sacrificed to "idols, and commit fornication. [Rev. ii. 20.] "But in his epistle he especially calls them "antichrists, who deny that Christ is come in "the flesh, and who did not think that Jesus "is the son of God. 1 *John* ii. 18. 22. iv. 2. 3. v. 5. In the place already referred to more

(q) Ceterum, de meo sumet, inquit, sicut ipse de Patris. Ita connexus Patris in Filio, et Filii in Paraclete, tres efficit cohaerentes, alterum ex altero. Qui tres unum sunt, non unus. Quomodo dictum est, Ego et Pater unum sumus: ad substantiae unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem. *Adv. Prax.* c. 25. p. 657. C.

(r) Eo accidit quod Enoch apud Judam Apostolum testimonium possidet. *De cultu Fem.* l. i. cap. 3. p. 172. A.

(s) Joannes vero in Apocalypsi idolothyta edentes et stupra committentes jubetur castigare. At in epistola eos maxime antichristos vocat, &c. *De Praescr.* Cap. 33. p. 244. A. B.

A. D. more than once, after the mention of the four
 200. who had seen *Christ's* glorie, he takes a large
 quotation out of *John's* Revelation. "Again,
 " The (t) Apostle *John* in the Apocalypse
 " describes a sharp two edged sword coming
 " out of the mouth of God." Lastly, we
 " (u) have churches, disciples of *John*. For
 " though *Marcion* rejects his Revelation, the
 " succession of Bishops traced to the original
 " will assure us, that *John* is the author."

*Sum of his
 testimonie.*

XIII. There are then in *Tertullian* plain testimonies to all the books of the New Testament, commonly received by Christians at this time, except the epistle of *James*, the second of *Peter*, the second and third of *John*. The epistle to the *Hebrews* he supposed to have been writ by *Barnabas*.

*Integrity
 of the
 scriptures.*

XIV. We have seen in the passages already transcribed several testimonies to the integrity and sincerity of the Gospels, and other books of the New Testament in his time, as well as to their genuinenesse. We will nevertheless

take

(t) Nam et Apostolus Joannes in Apocalypsi ensem describit ex ore Dei prodeuntem, bis acutum, praeacutum. Adv. Marc. lib. 3. cap. 14. p. 489. A.

(u) Habemus et Joannis alumnas ecclesias. Nam etsi Apocalypsim ejus Marcion respuit, ordo tamen episcoporum ad originem recens in Joannem stabit auctorem. Adv. Marc. lib. iv. cap. v. p. 565. B.

(x)
 Lucæ
 mordi
 4. c.
 (y)
 nec ho
 lica in
 nos ad
 manea
 sacrile
 (z)

take a few more to the like purpose. He affirms, that (x) the three other Gospels were in the hands of the churches from the beginning, as well as *Luke's*: That (y) *Luke's* Gospel, as well as the rest, had been *preserved entire*, till *Marcion* pretended to correct it. He says he may (z) justly say (in the name of the Christian Church) to all heretics: "Who are
" you? when, and whence came you hither?
" what do you do in my ground, since you
" belong not to me? by what right, O *Mar-*
" *cion*, do you cut down my woods? what
" authority have you, *Valentinus*, to turn the
" course of my fountains? who gave you
" power, *Apelles*, to overthrow my senses?
" what do you sowing and feeding here at
" your pleasures? The possession is mine.
" I have enjoyed it a long time. I
" first enjoyed it. I derive a certain original
" from the authors themselves, whose it was.
" I am the heir of the Apostles. As they or-
" dained

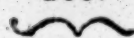
(x) Itaque et de his *Marcion* flagitandus, quid omisissis eis, *Lucae* potius insisterit; quasi non et haec apud ecclesias a primordio fuerint, quemadmodum et *Lucae*. *Adv. Marcion.* l. 4. c. 5. p. 505. D.

(y) Denique emendavit, quod corruptum existimavit. Sed nec hoc merito, quia non fuit corruptum. Si enim Apostolica integra decucurrerunt; *Lucae* autem quod est secundum nos adeo congruit regulae eorum, ut cum illis apud ecclesias maneat, jam et *Lucae* constat integrum decucurrisse usque ad sacrilegium *Marcionis*. p. 506. A.

(z) De *Praescript.* c. 37.

A. D.

200.



" dained in their testament: as they com-
 " mitted to my trust: as they adjured, so I
 " still hold it." A large part of this passage
 is translated by (a) Mr. *Richardson*. I have
 taken his translation, as far as it goes. *Tertul-*
lian soon after calls heretics *foreigners*, and e-
nemies of the Apostles. " They (b) who were
 " resolved to teach otherwise, were under a
 " necessity of new modelling the records of
 " the doctrine, that they might have some
 " ground to go upon. As they could not suc-
 " ceed in corrupting the doctrine, without
 " corrupting the records of it: so the true
 " doctrine [*of the Apostles*] could not have
 " been with us, nor could it have been de-
 " livered by us to others, if we had not the
 " records entire wherein it is taught. For
 " what do we maintain contrarie to them?
 " what have we added of our own heads to
 " the doctrine, that we should be obliged to
 " alter any thing in the Scriptures, by adding
 " to them, or taking from them, or trans-
 " posing any parts of them? What (c) we
 " are, that the scriptures were from the be-
 " gining:

(a) *The Canon of the N. T. vindicated* p. 119.

(b) *Ib.* c. 38.

(c) Quod sumus, hoc sunt scripturae ab initio suo: ex illis
 sumus, antequam aliter fuit; antequam a vobis interpolaren-
 tur. *ibid.* p. 246. B.

“gining: we agree with them, as they were
 “before they were altered, before they were
 “interpolated by you.” Then he severely
 censures *Marcion* for altering the text of the
 Scriptures, *openly employing a knife*, as (*d*) he
 says, *not a stile*; the better to render them
 agreeable to his erroneous opinions.

A. D.
200.

XV. In many of the passages already transcribed we have seen the great authority of the books of the New Testament, and the respect which was shewed to them. But it may be proper to observe a few more to this purpose.

Authority
of these
books.

In his disputes (*e*) with *Praxeas*, and others, he plainly supposes the scriptures to be the rule of the Christian faith. He greatly commends the Church of Rome, that (*f*) *she joins the Law and the Prophets with the Evangelic and Apostolic Scriptures, and thence takes her faith*. He plainly supposeth them writ by Divine Inspiration, and calls them the words

(*d*) Marcion enim exerte et palam machaera, non stilo usus est: quoniam ad materiam suam caedem scripturarum confecit. *ibid.* 246. C.

(*e*) Probare autem tam aperte debebis ex scripturis, quam nos probamus illum sibi filium fecisse sermonem suum. . . Aut exhibe probationem quam exoptulo meae similem; id est, sic scripturas eundem filium et patrem ostendere, quemadmodum apud nos distincte pater et filius demonstrantur. *Adv. Prax.* c. xi. p. 641. D.

(*f*) Legem et Prophetas cum Evangelicis et Apostolicis literis miscet, et inde potat fidem. *De Praeser.* c. 36. p. 245. C.

A. D.
200.

words of God in a passage to be transcribed presently at length.

“ The Spirit of the Lord, *says (f)* he, has
“ declared by the Apostle, that *covetousness*
“ *is the root of all evil.*” 1 Tim. vi. 10. This
is an observation which might be made by
the human understanding: nevertheless he
says, *The Spirit of the Lord has declared it by*
the Apostle: which seems to imply, that the
Apostles in their epistles, writ for the direc-
tion and edification of the churches, were un-
der a special direction of the Holy Spirit. Af-
terwards he says in the same book: *The A-*
postle (g) *recommends charity with all the force*
of the Holy Spirit; referring to 1 Cor. xiii.
which chapter he there quotes largely. Having
mentioned *Matthew* under the character of the
companion of the Lord, and the *most faithful*
historian of the gospel, and referred particular-
ly to his genealogie, he adds: “ and *Paul*
“ *(h)* likewise, as being both a disciple, and
“ a master,

(f) Cupiditatem omnium malorum radicem Spiritus Do-
mini per Apostolum pronuntiavit. *De Patientia.* cap. 7. p.
163. D.

(g) Quam [*delectionem*] apostolus totis viribus Sancti Spi-
ritus commendat. *De Pat.* c. 12. p. 167. B.

(h) Sed et Paulus, utpote ejusdem evangelii et discipulus, et
magister, et testis, qua ejusdem ipsius Christi apostolus, con-
firmat Christum ex semine David secundum carnem, utique
ipsum. *De carne Christi.* cap. 22. p. 376. c.

“ a master, and also a witnesse of the same
 “ gospel, inasmuch as he was an Apostle of
 “ the same Christ, confirms the account that
 “ Christ was of the seed of David according
 “ to the flesh.” And we may here recollect
 the passage before quoted, where he had e-
 qualled the Apostle *Paul* with the chief of the
 Apostles, those three who saw *Christ*’s glorie
 on the mount. Another proof of the high
 respect, which these writings were in with
 Christians is the reading them in their religious
 assemblies. In his description of the Christian
 worship in his *Apologie* he says among other
 things: “ We (i) come together to recollect
 “ the Divine Scriptures. We nourish our
 “ faith, emprove our hope, confirm our trust
 “ by the sacred words.”

A. D.
200.

XVI. We should next observe some
 forms of quotation, and general titles and di-
 visions of the books of the New Testament.

Titles and
Divisions.

Justin Martyr often calls the Gospels
Commentaries, or short histories of *Christ*. In
 like manner, and possibly in imitation of him,

Tertul-

(i) Coimus ad literarum divinarum commemorationem;
 si quid praesentium temporum qualitas, aut praemonere cogit,
 aut recognoscere, certe fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus, spem
 erigimus, fiduciam figimus. *Apol. cap. 39. p. 34. D.*

A. D. 200. *Tertullian* calls the Evangelists (k) *Commentators*, or *Historians of the gospel*, and their (l) writings *Commentaries*, or short histories.

“ For the (m) Lord in the Gospel admonishes *Peter* : *Behold*, says he, *Satan has desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat.*” Luke xxii. 31. “ And in (n) the Gospel the wedding garment may signify the holiness of the flesh.” “ He (o) remembered the Evangelical maxim : *Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness sake.*” “ But (p) enough has been alleged from the Prophets. I now appeal to the Gospels.” He presently after speaks of them by the name of Scripture. “ But observe,

(k) Ipse in primis Matthaeus, fidelissimus Evangelii commentator. *De Carne Christi*. c. 22. p. 376. C. aut a commentatore Evangelii illuminatam. *De Resurrect. Carn.* p. 403. A. Nam ex iis commentatoribus quos habemus, Lucam videtur Marcion elegisse, quem caederet. *Adv. Marcion.* l. 4. c. 2. p. 503. B.

(l) Porro, cum in eodem commentario Lucae [Libro nempe Actuum Apostolorum.] *De Jejun.* c. x. p. 708. B.

(m) Siquidem Dominus in Evangelio ad Petrum : Ecce, inquit, postulavit vos Satan, uti cerneret vos, sicut frumentum. *De Fuga in Persecu.* c. 2. p. 690. C.

(n) Et in Evangelio, indumentum nuptiale sanctitas carnis agnosci potest. *De Resurrect. Carnis.* cap. 27. p. 398. D.

(o) Meminerat Evangelicae definitionis : Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam. *De Resurr.* c. 41. p. 409. C.

(p) Satis haec de prophetico instrumento, ad Evangelia nunc provoco. *De Resurr.* c. 33. p. 402. C.

"(p) observe, how the Scripture relates this: A. D.
200.
 "He spoke also a parable unto them." Luke v. 36. }

The Gospels are distinguished by the names of the writers, as we have already seen. One instance may not be amiss here. "We (q) have considered *John's* Gospel.—and "I shall not now, *says he*, insist on the other "Gospels."

He calls the Gospels (r) *Our Digesta*, in allusion, as it seems, to some collection of the Roman Laws digested into order, as in a passage before cited he called *Luke's* Gospel *his Digest*: Again: "Justly (s) the Evangelist: "The law and the Prophets were until "John." He speaks (t) at once of *the sayings of the Prophets, Gospels, and Apostles*. Here *Apostles* seems to stand for the collection of the epistles of the Apostles. In another book:

T t

"What

(p) Sed quomodo referat scriptura, considera: Dicebat autem et parabolam ad eos. *ib.* p. 402. D.

(q) Videmus Joannis evangelium decucurrisse . . . Ceterum ut alia Evangelia non interponam. *Adv. Prax.* c. 26. p. 657. D. 658. A.

(r) — et inde sunt nostra digesta. *Adv. Marc.* l. 4. c. 3. p. 504. A.

(s) Et merito Evangelista: Lex et Prophetæ usque ad Joannem. *Adv. Jud.* cap. 8. p. 215. B.

(t) Compendiis paucorum verborum, quot attinguntur edicta Prophetarum, Evangeliorum, Apostolorum? *De Orat.* cap. 9. 152. C.

A. D.

200.

“ What (u) Patriarch, what Prophet, . . .
 “ what Priest, or in later times what Apo-
 “ stle, or Evangelist, or Bishop, is found
 “ crowned ?

“ Let (x) us be mindful of the predictions
 “ of the Lord, and the epistles of the A-
 “ postles.” He says: “ We (y) have one bap-
 “ tism according to the Gospel of the Lord,
 “ and the Epistles of the Apostle.” *Marcion*,
 “ he says, had two different Gods, one (z) of
 “ each Instrument, or, (which is more com-
 “ monly said) Testament.” In another place:
 “ If (a) I do not clear this point from all the
 “ difficulties of the ancient scripture, I will
 “ take the proof of our interpretation from
 “ the New Testament. . . For behold, I per-
 “ ceive both in the Gospels and the Apostles
 “ God to be visible and invisible.” This
 plainly

(u) Quis denique Patriarches, quis Prophetes, — aut sacer-
 dos, — quis vel postea Apostolus, aut Evangelizator, aut
 Episcopus invenitur coronatus? *De Corona*. c. 9. p. 125. D.

(x) Quin potius memores simus tam dominicarum prae-
 tiationum, quam apostolicarum literarum. *De Praescr.* cap.
 4. p. 231. C.

(y) Unus omnino baptismus est nobis, tam ex Domini E-
 vangelio, quam ex literis Apostoli. *De Baptismo*. cap. 15. p.
 262. C.

(z) Alterum alterius Instrumenti, vel, (quod magis usus est
 dicere) Testamenti. *Adv. Marc.* l. 4. c. 1. p. 501. B.

(a) Si hunc articulum quaestionibus veteris scripturae non
 expediam, de Novo Testamento sumam confirmationem no-
 strae interpretationis. . . Ecce enim et in Evangeliiis et in Apo-
 stolis visibilem et invisibilem Deum deprehendo. *Adv.*
Praxeas. c. 10. p. 646. D.

plainly shews, that the collection of the sacred Christian books was called the New Testament, and that it was divided into two parts, one of which was called the *Gospels*, the other the *Apostles*.

A. D.
200.

XVII. It is very likely, that the *Revelation* was included in this later part, and was joined with the epistles of the Apostles. But it does not yet appear, in which part the book of the *Acts of the Apostles* was now placed: We will therefore see, whether we can find any light into that question. In his treatise *Of the Resurrection of the Flesh*, having brought arguments for a resurrection out of the Gospels, he adds: "The (*b*) Apostolical Instruments [*or records*] do also teach a resurrection:" And shewing, how the Apostles preached a resurrection, the first text, in which he instances, is out of the *Acts*. "You find *Paul*, brought before the High Priests by the chief Captain, professing his faith among Sadducees and Pharisees: *Men, and Brethren*, says he, *of the hope and resurrection am I called in question before you.*" He proceeds to observe *Paul's* discourse to

Order of
the books
of the N.
T.

T t 2

King

(*b*) Resurrectionem Apostolica quoque Instrumenta testantur. Habes Paulum apud summos sacerdotes sub Tribuno inter Sadducaeos et Phariseos fidei suae professorem. Viri, inquit, patres, . . . De spe nunc et de resurrectione judicor apud vos. . . *De Resurr. Carn.* cap. 39. p. 407. C. D.

A. D.
200. King *Agrippa*, and the *Athenians*, recorded in the *Acts*. This seems at once to shew, that the *Acts* were then placed in the *Apostolicon*, and the reason of it. The Gospels contained the historie of Christ, and his preaching and ministrie: All the other books contain the doctrine taught by the Apostles, whether it be delivered in their own epistles, or recorded in the *Acts* by an historian.

There is another place in *Tertullian*, which very much confirms the supposition, that this book was placed in the later division of the scriptures of the New Testament. He expresses himself thus: "As (c) to the Gospel, the question about the parables has been discussed." And then afterwards: "Let (d) them now shew at least out of the Apostolical Instrument, [or Testament] that sins of the flesh committed after baptism may be washed away by repentance." And what he thereupon immediately considers is the decree of the council at *Jerusalem* in *Acts* xv. And then proceeds to the Epistles.

Dodwell

(c) Exinde quod ad Evangelium pertinet, parabolarum quidem discussa quaestio est. *De Pudicitia*. c. xi. p. 727. C.

(d) Age nunc vel de Apostolico Instrumento doceant maculas carnis post baptismum resperse paenitentia dilui posse. *ibid.* c. 12. p. 727. D.

Dodwell (e) supposes, that the *Acts* were originally the second part or discourse of one and the same work, of which St. *Luke's* Gospel was the first discourse. This he infers from *Acts* i. 1. If they were ever joined together as one book, it is plain, they were now separated: St. *Luke's* Gospel being placed undoubtedly in the *Evangelicon*, or with the other Gospels, and the *Acts*, probably, in the *Apostolicon*, or with the Epistles.

A. D.
200.

Which leads us likewise to observe the order of the several Gospels. It seems, that in *Tertullian's* time, in the *African* churches at least, they were disposed according to the quality of the writers; in the first place those two, which were writ by Apostles; then the other two, writ by Apostolical men. This I am willing to infer from the passage at *numb.* ii. where *Tertullian* says: *Among the Apostles John and Matthew teach us the faith*, or instill the faith into our minds: *among Apostolical men Luke and Mark refresh*, or revive it. It is observable, that *Tertullian* here places *John* before *Matthew*. So likewise in the passage at the end of *numb.* iii. Possibly there-

T t 3

fore

(e) Sunt enim *Acta* δεύτερον ejusdem operis λόγος, cujus πρώτον λόγον ipse [*Lucas*] suum agnoscit evangelium. *Acts* i. 1. *Diff. in Irenae* i. §. 39.

A. D. 200. fore we here see the exact order, in which each Gospel was placed in some churches of that time. Indeed in the passage near the end of *numb. iii. Mark* is put before *Luke*. But the occasion of mentioning him there next after *John* and *Matthew* seems to be, that *Luke's* Gospel had been largely discoursed of before in that place. The curious may consider of this, and consult *Tertullian* himself. For I do not affirm, that in these passages we have plain proof of the order of each Gospel. But it appears probable, that the two Gospels writ by Apostles were put before the two writ by Apostolical men. I shall only add, that in some of (*f*) the most ancient manuscripts which we have the order of the several Evangelists is thus: *Matthew, John, Luke, Mark*.

Of Chap-
ters.

XVIII. That the several books of the New Testament were now divided into any certain number of sections, or chapters, is not easily proved. However, I will observe a passage or two, which may seem to afford some ground

to

(*f*) In N. T. Evangelia hunc ordinem, *Matt. Joan. Luc. Marc.* in aliquibus Codd. Gr. obtinent; ut in *Bezae Cantabrigiensis*, in *Benedictinorum S. Germani Paris.* et in alio, quem testatur *Druthmarus* se vidisse, qui *S. Hilarii* dicebatur. *Hodius de Bibl. Textib. Orig.* p. 664.

to think they were so divided. "Do (g) they
" flatter themselves, says he, with that para-
" graph [literally *short chapter*] of the first to
" the *Corinthians*, where it is written: *If any*
" *brother hath a wife that believeth not? . .*"

A. D.
200.

Where he cites 1 Cor. vii. 12—14. from
those words here transcribed to *else were your*
children unclean. Again, in another work:
" But (b) this is the common way of
" perverse and ignorant and heretical men,
" and of all the *Psychici*, [or *carnal* peo-
" ple. *So he calls the Catholics who reject-*
" *Montanism.*] to fortify themselves with some
" one ambiguous paragraph, [or *short chap-*
" *ter*] against an armie of sentences of the
" whole Instrument." that is, of the whole
New Testament, both Gospels and Apostles.

But I think, that these, and other (i) the
like passages of *Tertullian* will scarce amount
to a full proof, that there were then marked
in the copies of the New Testament any sec-
tions or chapters, either greater or smaller.

T t 4

For

(g) Nunquid, inquam, de illo capitulo sibi blandiuntur,
primae ad Corinthios, ubi scriptum est: Si quis fratrum infi-
delem habet uxorem. . . *Ad. uxor.* l. 2. c. 2. p. 187. D.

(b) Sed est hoc solenne perversis et idiotis et haereticis, jam
et *Psychicis* universis, alicujus capituli ancipitis occasione ad-
versus exercitum sententiarum instrumenti totius armari. *De*
Pudicitia. cap. 16. sub fin. p. 735. D.

(i) Sic ergo in eodem ipso capitulo, quo definit, Unum-
quemque, in qua vocatione vocabitur, in ea permanere de-
bere. *De Monogam.* c. xi. p. 683. D.

A. D. For by paragraph, or *short chapter*, he may
 200. mean no more than a text or passage in these books.

*A Latin
Translation.*

XIX. *Tertullian* affords proof, that there was in his time a *Latin* version of some or all the books of the New Testament. It might be inferred from his quotations. In one place, arguing against the lawfulness of second marriages, and explaining in his way 1 Cor. vii. 39. he says: "But (*k*) it is not so in the authentic *Greek*, as we have it in the copies vulgarly used."

*The N. T.
open to all
men.*

XX. The Scriptures of the New Testament were open to all, and well known in the world in the time of *Tertullian*. In his *Apologie* addressed to the Roman Presidents, or to the Magistrates at *Carthage*, as was before observed, he says: "Whoever (*l*) of you
 " there-

(*k*) Sciamus plane non sic esse in Graeco authentico, quomodo in usum exiit per duarum syllabarum aut callidam aut simplicem everfionem. Si dormierit vir ejus, quasi de futuro sonet; ac per hoc videatur ad eam pertinere, quae jam in fide virum amiserit. De *Monog.* c. xi. p. 684. A. Vid. *Rigalt.* in loc.

(*l*) Qui ergo putaveris nihil nos de salute Caesarum curare, inspicere Dei voces, literas nostras, quas neque ipsi supprimimus, et plerique casus ad extraneos transferunt. Scitote ex illis praeceptum esse nobis, ad redundantiam benignitatis, etiam pro inimicis Deum orare, et persecutoribus nostris bona precari. Qui magis inimici et persecutores Christianorum, quam de quorum Majestate convenimur in crimen? Sed etiam nominatim

minati-
pibus,
cap. 3

Chap. XXVII. TERTULLIAN.

637

A. D.

200.

“ therefore think, that we have no concern
 “ for the safety of the Emperours, look into
 “ the words of God, our Scriptures, which
 “ we ourselves do not conceal, and many ac-
 “ cidents bring into the way of those who are
 “ not of our religion. Know then, that by
 “ these we are commanded, in abundance
 “ of goodnesse, to pray to God even for ene-
 “ mies, and to wish well to our persecutors.
 “ [Matth. v. 44.] And who are more ene-
 “ mies and persecutors of Christians, than
 “ they against whom we are accused of trea-
 “ sonable practises? But beside this, it is ex-
 “ pressly and plainly said: *Pray for Kings,*
 “ *and for Princes, and Powers, that ye may*
 “ *live a quiet life.*” 1 Tim. ii. 1. 2. Here are
 in a short compasse references to Gospels and
 Epistles. He lays them all before the Roman
 Magistrates, and speaks of both parts of the
 New Testament with equal respect, as the
words of God, their scriptures, by which they
 were obliged to regulate their behaviour.

XXI. There is little or no suspicion of
 Tertullian’s quoting any Christian Apocryphal
 book

Of apo-
 chryphal
 books.

minatim manifestè, orate, inquit, pro regibus, et pro princi-
 pibus, et potestatibus, ut omnia tranquilla sint vobis. *Apol.*
 cap. 31. p. 30. D.

A. D.
200,
book with the same respect as he has quoted those now commonly received as canonical, unless it be that of *Hermas*. That he rejected, when a *Montanist*: as is evident from a passage already quoted out of a treatise writ by him after he had been for some time in those notions: where he speaks of this book with the utmost contempt, and even abhorrence; as he does likewise in another place of the same treatise: “ But, I (*m*) would yield the point “ to you, *says he*, if the scripture [*or book*] “ of the *Shepherd*, which alone is favorable to “ adulterers, deserved to be placed in the “ Divine Testament, if it were not reckon- “ ed apocryphal and spurious by every assem- “ blie (*E*) even of your own churches.”

We must however observe, how he quoted it, when a Catholic. It is in this manner.
“ That it (*n*) is a custom with some to sit “ down

(*m*) Sed cederem tibi, si scriptura Pastoris, quae sola moechos amat, divino instrumento meruisset incidi, si non ab omni concilio ecclesiarum vestrarum inter apochrypha et falsa judicaretur. *De Pudicitia*. cap. 10. p. 727. A.

(*E*) Some have understood the word *Concilium* here in our ordinarie sense of *Council* or *Synod*. But any church-assembly for Divine Worship was sometimes called a *council* or *synod* by ancient writers, as has been shewn by Mr. *Joseph Bingham*. *Antiquities of the Christian Church*. Book 8. ch. i. §. 7.

(*n*) Item quod assignata oratione assidendi mos est quibusdam,

“ down, when prayer is over, I do not per- A. D.
200.
 “ ceive the reason : unless, if that *Hermas*,
 “ whose scripture is usually called the *Shep-*
 “ *herd*, had not sat down upon a bed after
 “ he had prayed, but had done somewhat
 “ else, we should have made a precedent of
 “ that too. Certainly not. And now it is
 “ but just mentioned, *when I had prayed, and*
 “ *sat down*, in the course of the narration,
 “ not delivered as a rule. Otherwise, we
 “ may never worship, but where there is a
 “ bed. Nay he would act contrarie to the
 “ scripture, [or *this scripture*] who would sit
 “ upon a chair or a form.”

If there is any thing in this passage of a
 doubtful meaning, it must be interpreted by
 the foregoing. It cannot be supposed, that
Tertullian ever esteemed any book a part of sa-
 cred scripture, which was reckoned apocryphal
 by all the Catholic churches he was acquaint-
 ed

dam, non perspicio rationem, nisi si Hermas ille, cujus scrip-
 tura fere Pastor inscribitur, transacta oratione non super lectum
 assedisset, verum aliud quid fecisset, id quoque ad observati-
 onem vindicarem. Utique non. Simpliciter enim et nunc
 positum est, Cum adorassem et assedissem super lectum, ad
 ordinem narrationis, non ad instar disciplinae. Alioquin nus-
 quam erit adorandum, nisi ubi fuerit lectus. Immo contra
 scripturam fecerit, si quis in cathedra aut subsellio sederit.
De Oratione. c. 12. p. 154. A.

A. D.

200.

ed with. But I see nothing in the passage itself to incline us to think, that he now esteemed this a sacred book, and of authority. It is true, there is in it (o) what he refers to, of sitting upon a bed after prayer. But if *Tertullian* had been well acquainted with the book, or had thought it worth the while, he might have argued (p) from divers places, where *Hermas* speaks of his prayers, and makes no mention of sitting after them, that he gave no authority to that custom. He speaks likewise contemptuously of the author, as an obscure person: *That Hermas*. Then he hardly knows the title of the book, or ridicules it: *fere Pastor inscribitur*. As for his calling it *scripture*, it is of no moment. The word is continually used by Ecclesiastical Writers, as equivalent to writing, book, epistle, or treatise; by *Tertullian* particularly, who uses the same word of this book, when he plainly and openly shews his contempt of it. He uses likewise the same term speaking of (q) Heathen authors.

XXII.

(o) Lib. 2. in *Proem*.(p) *Vid.* L. i. *Vif.* i. §. 1. *Vif.* ii. §. 1. et alibi.(q) Cum de secularibus quoque scripturis exemplum praestitit. *De Praescr.* c. 39. p. 246. D.

XXII. The only thing that remains to be taken notice of in this writer is an early forgerie of a book in the name of *St. Paul*. *Tertullian* is arguing against some who permitted women to baptise, and gives the historie of this book as what he was well informed of. “But (*r*) if they think fit to make use of writings falsely ascribed to *Paul*, to support the right of women to teach and baptise; let them know, that the Presbyter who composed that writing, as if he had been able to encrease *Paul*’s fame, being convicted of it, and having confessed, that he did it out of love to *Paul*, was deposed.”

A. D.
200.

A book
forged in
the name
of *St. Paul*.

I shall immediatly put down what *Jerome* says of this affair in his chapter concerning *St. Luke* in the book of *Illustrious Men*: where having spoken of *St. Luke*’s Gospel, and the *Acts*, he says: “Therefore (*s*) *The Travels*

(*r*) Quod si quae Paulo perperam adscripta sunt, ad licentiam mulierum docendi tinguendique defendunt, sciant in Asia Presbyterum, qui eam scripturam construxit, quasi titulo Pauli de suo cumulans, convictum atque confessum id se amore Pauli fecisse, loco decessisse. De Baptismo cap. 17. p. 263. C.

(*s*) Igitur Περὶ τοῦ Pauli et Theclae, et totam baptizati leonis fabulam inter apocryphas scripturas computamus. Quale enim

A. D. 200. *Travels of Paul and Thecla*, and the whole
 “ fable of the baptised lyon we reckon among
 “ the Apocryphal Scriptures. For how should
 “ the constant companion of the Apostle,
 “ who knew his other affairs so well, be ig-
 “ norant of this alone? Moreover *Tertullian*,
 “ who lived near those times, relates that a
 “ certain Presbyter in *Asia*, an admirer of the
 “ Apostle *Paul*, was convicted before *John*
 “ to be the author of it, and that he confess-
 “ ed he had done it out of love to *Paul*, and
 “ that for that reason he was deposed.”

Jerome here ascribes to *Tertullian* more than we have in his treatise of Baptism, where this relation is. For *Tertullian* there makes no mention of the person, before whom this Presbyter was convicted. *Ernestus Solomon Cyprianus* in his notes (t) upon the fore-cited place of *Jerome* has an ingenious conjecture; that *Jerome* took his account of this matter from the *Greek* edition of *Tertullian's* treatise of Baptism. He thinks this supposition the

enim est, ut individuus comes Apostoli, inter ceteras ejus res hoc solum ignoraverit? Sed et Tertullianus, vicinus eorum temporum, refert presbyterum quendam in Asia, σπυδασην Apostoli Pauli, convictum apud Joannem, quod auctor esset libri, et confessum se hoc Pauli amore fecisse, et ob id de loco excidisse. *De Vir. I. c. 7.*

(t) *Apud Fabricii Bibliothecam Ecclesiasticam. p. 50.*

the more probable, because *Jerome* gives us a *Greek* title of that book forged by the Prefbyter, and uses a *Greek* word likewise when he calls him an *admirer of Paul*, neither of which *Greek* words is in our *Latin* text. And we know from (u) *Tertullian* himself, that before he wrote the *Latin* treatise of Baptism, which we have, he had treated the same argument in the *Greek* tongue.

A. D.

200.

However this be, it is plain, the forgerie was detected, and the author degraded, and the whole affair was notified to the churches, that they might be upon their guard. *Tertullian* in *Africa* was not ignorant of it. It is an argument of the vigilance and scrupulosity of the Christians about the writings, which they received in the name of Apostles.

XXIII. We have now seen a very valuable testimonie to the Scriptures of the New Testament in the remaining works of *Tertullian*, writ in the later part of the second, and the begining of the third centurie. It is considerable for the number of the books cited by him, almost all those which are now received by Christians as canonical, without so much as

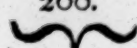
The Conclusion.

a sus-

(u) *De Baptismo*. cap. 13.

A. D.

200.



a suspicion of placing any other in the same rank with them, and for the large and numerous quotations of them. There are perhaps more and larger quotations of the small volume of the New Testament in this one Christian author, than of all the works of *Cicero*, though of so uncommon excellence for thought and stile, in the writers of all characters for several ages. And there is a like number of quotations of the New Testament in *St. Irenaeus*, and *St. Clement of Alexandria*, both writers of the second centurie. *Tertullian's* testimonie is considerable too for the evident tokens of that high respect, which was paid to these Scriptures. Indeed they would not have been so much quoted, if they had not been greatly esteemed. Nor have the differing sentiments of those called heretics done us any lasting prejudice. The contest which they occasioned has encreased our proofs of the genuinnesse, authority, and integrity of the Evangelical and Apostolical Scriptures. It is easie for every one to observe the value of this testimonie upon some other accounts, which I therefore need not mention. The whole which we have transcribed from *Tertullian* may afford satisfaction to a serious Christian,

I. Chap. XXVII. TERTULLIAN.

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stian, as confirming his faith in the holy ^{A. D.}
scriptures, and enabling him, if there be oc- ^{200.}
casion, to convince, or at least to confute and
silence adversaries with abundance of evi-
dence.



U u

C H A P.



CHAP. XXVIII.

Several Writers of the second Centurie.

I. QUADRATUS. II. ARISTIDES. III. AGRIPPA CASTOR. IV. ARISTO of PELLA. V. SOTER. VI. PINYTUS. VII. PHILIP. VIII. PALMAS. IX. MODESTUS. X. MUSEANUS. XI. CLAUDIUS APOLLINARIS. XII. BARDESANES. XIII. APOLLONIUS. XIV. RHODON. XV. VICTOR. XVI. BACCHYLUS. XVII. THEOPHILUS and NARCISSUS. XVIII. SYMMACHUS.

BESIDE those writers which I have quoted, there were many other in the second centurie, whose works are now lost. I choose to give here a short historie of the chief of them, that my readers may have the clearer idea of the learning and labours of the Christians of that time, and may the better judge what disadvantage we lye under for want of their writings. It is a necessarie part

of

of our design, and will not take up a great deal of room.

A. D.

I. QUADRATUS is first mentioned by Eusebe (a), in his Ecclesiastical Historie, in the reign of Trajan. He ascribes to him the gift of prophecie, and reckons him among the Evangelists of that time in a passage (A) which we have already transcribed. In his Chronicle (b) he gives Quadratus the title of a *disciple of Apostles*. Quadratus is also reckoned among the Prophets of the New Testament in a fragment of an Anonymous author preserved (c) in Eusebe. We are farther informed by the same (d) Ecclesiastical Historian, that Quadratus presented an Apologie for the Christian religion to the Emperour Adrian, which was then extant, containing evident marks of his ability, and of the true Apostolical doctrine. There is nothing now remaining of Quadratus, beside a short, but very valuable fragment of his Apologie, concerning the mira-

Quadratus.
126.

U u 2

cles

(a) H. E. l. 3. c. 37. in.

(A) Ch. 8. p. 232.

(b) Κοδράτῳ ὁ ἱερὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀκασῆς. p. 81. vid. et. p. 211.

(c) H. E. l. 5. c. 17. p. 183. C. D.

(d) Τούτῳ [Ἀδριανῷ] Κοδράτῳ λόγον προσεωνήσας ἀναδίδωσιν, ἀπολογίαν συντάξας ὑπὲρ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς Θεοσεβείας. . . . ἐξ ἧς [συγγράμματός] κατιδέν ἐστι λαμπρά τεκμήρια, τῆς τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διανοίας, καὶ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὑποβολῆς. l. iii. c. 5.

A. D. 126. cles of our Saviour, which we shall not fail
 ~~~~~ to produce upon a proper occasion.

This writer is placed by (*e*) *Cave* at the year 123, about which time undoubtedly he flourished. We here choose to follow the Chronicle of *Eusebe*, according to which his Apologie was presented (*f*) in the year 126. He seems to be the first Christian, who presented a written Apologie to any of the *Roman* Emperours: in whose dominions the Christian Religion had it's rise, and in which it long struggled under difficulties, but continually prevailed, till it became the religion of the Empire. According to (*g*) *Jerome*, this Apologie had a good effect upon the Emperor, which is also intimated by *Eusebe* in his Chronicle.

*Dionysius*, Bishop of *Corinth*, who flourished about the year 170, in his letter to the *Athenians* makes (*b*) mention of one *Quadratus*, who was Bishop of that church after the martyr-

(*e*) *Hist. Litt.*

(*f*) *Tillemont Mem. Ec. T. 2. La Persecution d'Adrien*, note 6. *Basnage. Ann. P. E. 126. §. 3.*

(*g*) *Quadratus apostolorum discipulus, et Atheniensis pontifex ecclesiae, nonne Adriano principi, Eleusinae sacra inviventi, librum pro nostra religione tradidit? et tantae admirationis omnibus fuit, ut persecutionem gravissimam illius sedaret ingenium. Ad Magnum. Ep. 83. al. 84.*

(*b*) *Ens. H. E. l. iv. c. 23. p. 143. D.*



martyrdom of *Publius*: and informs us, that by his care the Christians of that city, which had been scattered by the persecution, were brought together again, and the ardour of their faith was revived. But it is disputed, whether this be the same person with *Quadratus*, the Apologist. It is plain, that (i) *Jerome* supposed the Apologist to have been Bishop of *Athens*. But *Valesius* (k) supposing, that the words of *Dionysius* imply, that *Quadratus*, Bishop of *Athens*, was his contemporarie: and observing, that *Eusebe* has never called *Quadratus* author of the Apologie Bishop, nor *Quadratus* Bishop of *Athens* disciple of the Apostles, concludes, that they are different persons: in which he is followed by divers learned men, as (l) *Du Pin*, (m) *Tillemont*, (n) *Basnage*. Nevertheless *Cave* (o) is of opinion, that *Quadratus*, Bishop of *Athens* after *Publius*, is the same with the Apologist. *Grabe* (p) approves of his arguments for that

U u 3 opinion,

(i) *Quadratus apostolorum discipulus, Publio Athenarum episcopo, ob Christi fidem martyrio coronato, in locum ejus substituitur. . . Cumque Hadrianus Athenis exegisset hyemem . . . porrexit ei librum pro religione nostra compositum, valde utilem, plenumque rationis et fidei, et apostolica doctrina dignum. De V. I. c. 19. vid. supra (g.)*

(k) *Annot. in Euseb. p. 81.*

(l) *Bibliothèque, Quadratus.*

(m) *As before note vii.*

(n) *Annal. 126. §. 3.*

(o) *Hist. Lit. P. 1. p. 32.*

(p) *Spicileg. T. ii. p. 120. 121.*

A. D. opinion, and has supported it with some additional considerations.

It may be best not to be positive on either side. If the words of *Dionysius* imply, that *Quadratus* was then living, and lately made Bishop of *Athens*, we must needs suppose them two different persons. But if he can be supposed to mean no more, than that *Quadratus* had been some time Bishop of *Athens*: and it could be allowed, that *Publius* suffered martyrdom so early as the time of *Trajan*, or *Adrian*, (which is not improbable) *Quadratus* the Apologist might then be his successor: but not otherwise. For the age of *Quadratus* the Apologist is sufficiently settled by *Eusebe*. He was an eminent man in the time of *Trajan*, and probably did not outlive the reign of *Adrian*, or however not long.

*Aristides.*  
‡ 26.

II. ARISTIDES is more than once mentioned together with *Quadratus* by *Eusebe* and *Jerome*. In his Ecclesiastical Historie *Eusebe* adds to his account of the forementioned Apologist: “ And (q) *Aristides* a faithful man of  
“ our religion left an Apologie for our faith,

“ as

(q) Καὶ Ἀριστείδης δὲ τις δὲ ἀνὴρ τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς ὁρμώμενης  
ἐκείνης, τῷ Κοδράτῳ παρακλησίως ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἀπο-  
λογία ἐπιφωνήσας Ἀδριανῷ, καταλέλοιπε. H. E. L. iv.  
c. 3. fin.

“ as *Quadratus* did, addressed to *Adrian*.” A. D.  
126.  
Which he says too was then extant. In his Chronicle he places this Apologie in the same year with that of *Quadratus*, and informs (r) us of one particular more concerning *Aristides*, that he was an *Athenian Philosopher*. *Jerome* (s) in his book of *Illustrious Men* confirms this account with the addition of another circumstance, that after his conversion he continued to wear his former habit of a Philosopher: “ *Aristides*, says he, a most eloquent *Athenian Philosopher*, and in his former habit a disciple of Christ, presented to the Emperour *Adrian*, at the same time with *Quadratus*, a book containing an account of our sect, that is, an Apologie for the Christians, which is still extant, a monument with the learned of his ingenuity.” In another place after he had spoken of *Quadratus* he commends the learning of this Apologie, and says, that afterwards “ *Justin* (t) imitated *Aristides* in the book, which

U u 4

“ he

(r) Τὸ τῷ καὶ Ἀριστίδῃς Ἀθηναῖτι φιλόσοφῳ ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν ἀκόλουθα τῷ αὐτοκράτορι προσεφώνησεν Ἀδριανῶ, *Chr.* p. 81.

(s) Aristides, Atheniensis Philosophus eloquentissimus, et sub pristino habitu discipulus Christi, volumen nostri dogmatis rationem continens, eodem tempore quo et Quadratus, Hadriano Principi dedit, id est, Apologeticum pro Christianis. &c. *De V. I. c.* 20.

(t) Aristides philosophus, vir eloquentissimus, eidem principi



“ he presented to *Antonine* the Pious and his  
 “ sons and the *Roman* Senate.” This is all  
 we have to say of *Aristides*. For to our great  
 regret there is nothing of him remaining.

*Agrippa*  
*Castor.*  
 132.

III. AGRIPPA CASTOR flourished accord-  
 ing to *Cave* about the year 132. *Eusebe*  
 speaks of him in his account of things near the  
 end of the reign of *Adrian*. He wrote against  
*Basilides*, who, as (u) *Eusebe* informs us, was  
 an *Alexandrian*, and erected schools of his im-  
 pious doctrines in *Egypt*. That Ecclesiastical  
 Historian says, there were at that time a great  
 many Ecclesiastical men, defenders of the  
 apostolical doctrine against the heresies of *Sa-*  
*turninus* and *Basilides* and others. He adds:  
 “ Of these there (x) is come down to us an  
 “ ample confutation of *Basilides* by *Agrippa*  
 “ *Castor*, a most eminent writer of that time,  
 “ where he discovers the subtilty of his im-  
 “ posture. Laying open his secret myste-  
 “ ries,

cipi apologeticum pro Christianis obtulit, contextum philoso-  
 phorum sententiis; quem imitatus postea Justinus, et ipse  
 philosophus, Antonino Pio et filiis ejus senatuique librum con-  
 tra gentiles tradidit. *Ad Magnum Or.* ep. 84.

(u) *H. E. l. iv. c. 7. p. 119. C. D.*

(x) Ὁν εἰς ἡμᾶς κατήλθεν ἐν ταῖς τό τε γνωριμωτάταις συ-  
 γραφαῖς Ἀγρίππα Κάστωρ. ἱκανώτατον κατὰ Βασιλίδην  
 ἔλεγχον, τὴν δεινότητα τῆς τ' ἀνδρὸς ἀποκαλύπτων γρηγο-  
 ρῶς. ἐμφαίναν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ ἀπόρρητα, φησὶν αὐτὸν εἰς μὲν τὸ  
 εὐαγγέλιον τέσσαρα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκοσι συντάξαι βιβλία. *ib. p.*  
*120. A. B.*

(y)  
*De V.*  
 (z)  
*quo G*  
 (a)

“ries, he says, that he composed four and  
 “twenty books upon the Gospel, and that he  
 “taught it to be an indifferent thing to eat  
 “meat offered to idols, and that in time of  
 “persecution men might without scruple ab-  
 “jure the faith.”

A. D.  
 132.

I need not transcribe at length *Jerome's* (y) account of *Agrippa*. He calls him a *very learned man*, and places the rise of the heresie of *Basilides* at *Alexandria* in the time of *Adrian*: which is agreeable to what *Eusebe* writes in his *Chronicle* at the seventeenth year of *Adrian*, and 133 of our Lord, that (z) *Basilides* then dwelt at *Alexandria*. *Agrippa* must have writ, whilst *Basilides* was living. *Theodoret* (a) says, that *Agrippa* wrote likewise against *Isidorus* son of *Basilides*. Whether he means the forementioned work, is uncertain. When *Agrippa* says, that *Basilides* composed *four and twenty books upon the Gospel*; it is doubtful, whether he intends any of our Gospels, or a Gospel writ by *Basilides* himself. We may have another opportunity to examine that point more particularly. There is no-  
 thing

(y) *Agrippa*, cognomento *Castor*, vir valde doctus, &c. *De V. I. c. 21.*

(z) *Basilides* Haeresiarches in *Alexandria* commoratur, a quo Gnostici.

(a) *Haeret. Fab. l. i. c. 4. sub fin.*

thing remaining of this learned man, except what is in the account given by *Eusebe* in the above cited passage, of which I have transcribed a part.

*Aristo.*  
140.

IV. ARISTO of *Pella* in *Palestine* is cited by (b) *Eusebe*, as saying, that after the conquest of *Judea* by *Adrian* the *Jews* were prohibited by the edicts of that Emperour to behold so much as afar off their native soil. *Aristo* is generally supposed (c) to be the author of a dialogue, entitled *A Dispute of Papiscus and Jason*, expressly mentioned by (d) *Celsus* the *Epicurean* in his books against the Christian Religion, writ about the midle of the second centurie, or some time after. *Celsus* says it was a book not so much worthie of laughter, as of pity and aversion. *Origen* says in answer to this, that “ whoever will read that “ little book without prejudice will find it “ not worthie of either hatred or laughter: “ in which a *Christian* is introduced arguing “ with a *Jew* from the *Jewish* scriptures, “ and

(b) Ἀρίστων ὁ Πελλαῖτις ἰστορεῖ, κ. λ. l. 4. c. 6. p. 118. D.

(c) This is taken chiefly upon the credit of *Maximus*, a writer of the seventh centurie. *Vid. Cav. Hist. Lit.* P. 1. P. 34.

(d) Οἷαν δὴ καὶ Παπίσκου τινὸς καὶ Ἰάσονος ἀντιλόγιον ἔγγων, κ. λ. ap. *Orig. c. Cels.* l. 4. p. 199.



“ and shewing, that the prophecies concern-  
 “ ing the *Messiah* agree to Jesus, although the  
 “ adversarie strenuously maintained his point  
 “ against him.”

A. D.  
 140.

This dialogue is twice quoted by (e) *Jerome*, but without mentioning the name of the author. It was translated by one *Celsus* into *Latin*. But his translation, as well as the original, is lost. The *Latin* preface only of *Celsus* to his translation is remaining, and is published at the end of St. *Cyprian's* works. There was a *Celsus* Bishop of *Iconium* in the third centurie, who is mentioned in (f) *Eusebe*. But there is no proof, that he is the author of this translation. All that we can be certain of, says (g) *Cave*, concerning him is, that he wrote in times of persecution, and before the Roman Emperours embraced the Christian Religion, as appears from several passages of the Preface. *Tillemont* too thinks it very probable, that he lived while the church was under persecution, at least before the council of *Nice*. Some place it about the time of St. *Cyprian*. But whenever the translator

(e) *Quaestio. Hebr. in Genesim. pr. et Comm. in Gal.*  
 iii. 13.  
 (f) *H. E. l. 6. c. 19. p. 222. B.*  
 (g) *Ubi supra.*

*A. D.* flator lived, we have sufficient assurance from *Celsus* the *Epicurean*, that the Dialogue itself was writ before, or about the year 140; or, as *Cave* says, 136. I shall only add, that the translator informs us in his preface, that (*b*) *Jason* was a *Hebrew Christian*, *Papiscus* a *Jew of Alexandria*: that *Papiscus* was convinced by the arguments set before him, and desired of *Jason* to be baptised. They who desire to know more of this Dispute may consult, beside (*i*) *Cave*, (*k*) *Tillemont*, (*l*) *Grabe*, (*m*) *Fabricius*, and the authors referred to by him.

*Soter.*

164.

V. SOTER, successor of (*n*) *Anicetus* in the See of *Rome*, flourished, according to *Cave*, about the year 164. *Eusebe* (*o*) has taken no notice of any writing of his, beside a letter to the *Corinthians*, written by him, as it seems, in the name of the church of *Rome*, as *St. Clement's* had been long before. He speaks

(*b*) Illud praeclarum atque memorabile gloriosumque Jasonis Hebraei Christiani, et Papisci Alexandri Judaei disputationis occurrit, . . . . p. 31. B.

(*i*) *Hist. Lit.*

(*k*) *Mem. Ec. T. 2. P. 1. Saint Luc. Evangeliste. p. 248, — 251.*

(*l*) *Spicil. Patr. T. 2. p. 127.*

(*m*) *Bibl. Gr. T. V. p. 187.*

(*n*) *Eus. H. E. l. 4. c. 22. p. 142. C.*

(*o*) *Ib. c. 23. p. 145. B.*

speaks of it in his account of the several letters of *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*, one of which was to the church of *Rome*, addressed to *Soter* their Bishop at that time: in which he informs them, that their late epistle had been read in the public assemblie of the church of *Corinth* on the Lordsday, and that it should be so read often. The passage has been transcribed (B) already. *Dionysius* not only commends the letter of the church of *Rome*, but the church itself, and *Soter* their Bishop, for an excellent custom, which had long since obtained among them, of sending relief to foreign churches in necessity, and to their brethren in the mines. This passage too we shall have occasion to produce hereafter, if we proceed in this work.

VI. I have already (q) mentioned the letter of *Dionysius* of *Corinth* to the church of *Gnossus* in *Crete*, and his admonition to PINYTUS their Bishop. *Eusebe* (r) likewise in-

*Pinytus.*  
170.

(B) Ch. ii. p. 57.

(q) Ch. 12. p. 297. 302.

(r) Πρὸς ἣν ὁ Πινυτὸς ἀντιγράφων, θαυμάζει μὲν καὶ ἀποδέχεται τὸν Διονύσιον· ἀντιπαρακαλεῖ δὲ σιρρότερας ἢ δὴ ποτὲ μεταδιδόναι τροφῆς, τελειότεροις γράμμασιν εἰσαυθὺς τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῷ λαὸν ὑποτρέφοντα. ὡς μὴ διὰ τέλους τοῖς χαλκτώδεσιν ἐνδιατρίβοντες λόγοις τῇ νηπιῳδῇ ἀγωγῇ λάθοιεν καταγνήσαντες. H. E. l. 4. c. 23. p. 144. D.



*A. D.* informs us, that “ *Pinytus* wrote an answer  
 170. “ to that letter, wherein he greatly com-  
 “ mends *Dionysius* : but at the same time de-  
 “ fires him to impart to them more solid food,  
 “ and in some future letter to write more  
 “ perfect instruction for the nourishment of  
 “ the people under his care, least being ever  
 “ accustomed to milky discourses they grow  
 “ old in a childish discipline.”

*Jerome* has likewise an article for *Pinytus* in his Catalogue of *Illustrious Men* : and gives much the same account of this answer to *Dionysius*, calling (s) it *an elegant epistle*. He says, *Pinytus* flourished in the time of *M. Antonine* and *Commodus*. As we have no account of any writing of his, beside this epistle ; I make no scruple of placing him at the same year with *Dionysius*, his contemporarie. It may be considered, whether here be any allusion to 1 *Cor.* iii. 2. or to *Heb.* v. 12. 13. *Pinytus* is mentioned by *Eusebe* in another place (t) with *Dionysius of Corinth*, *Philip*, *Apollinaris*, *Melito*, *Musanus*, *Modestus*, and other eminent persons of that time.

VII.

(s) Valde elegantem epistolam. *De V. I. c.* 28.

(t) *L.* iv. c. 21.

VII. We formerly (u) mentioned also a letter of the same *Dionysius* to the church of *Gortyna* in *Crete*, of which *PHILIP* was Bishop. Of him *Eusebe* (x) soon after says, that he composed a most elaborate work against *Marcion*. *St. Jerome* has an article for (y) this writer, and commends his piece: and says, he flourished in the times of *Marc Antonine* and *Commodus*.

A. D.  
170.  
Philip.

VIII. One of the letters of *Dionysius* of *Corinth* was writ to the church of *Amastris*, together with the other churches in *Pontus*. *Eusebe* (z) informs us, that in that letter *Dionysius* mentions by name *PALMAS*, their Bishop. In another place writing of the controverſie about the time of keeping *Easter*, at the year 196, he ſays: “ There (a) is also a “ letter of the Bishops in *Pontus*, over whom “ *Palmas* preſided, as being the moſt an- “ cient.” It may be ſuppoſed, that this letter was composed by him.

Palmas.  
170.

IX.

(u) *Ch.* 12. p. 296.

(x) Φίλιππος γε μὴν, ὃν ἐκ τῶν Διονυσίῃ φωνῶν τῆς ἐν Γόρ-  
τύνῃ παροικίας ἐπίσκοπου ἐγνωμεν, πάλιν γε σπεσδαϊότατον  
πεπύηται καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ Μαρκίωνος λόγον. l. 4. c. 25.

(y) *De Vir.* I. c. 30.

(z) *H. E.* l. iv. c. 23. p. 144. B.

(a) Τῷ τε κατὰ Πόντον ἐπισκόπῳ, ἔν Πάλμας, ὡς ἀρχαί-  
οτατος προϋτέτακτο. l. v. c. 23. p. 191. A.

A. D.  
176.

*Modestus.*

IX. *Eusebe* having in the forecited passage concerning *Philip* said, that *he composed a most elaborate work against Marcion*, adds: "As (b) did also *Irenaeus* and *MODESTUS*, which last did most excellently and beyond the others detect his frauds, setting them in the fullest light before all the world." *St. Jerome* (c) says, "*Modestus*, who lived in the time of *M. Antonine* and *Commodus*, wrote a book against *Marcion*, which is still extant. There are likewise other works under his name, but they are rejected by the learned as suppositious." We know nothing more of them. There are no such now.

*Musanus.*  
176.

X. Soon after (d) *Eusebe* says, that there was extant in his time a very eloquent piece of *MUSANUS*, written to some brethren who were gone over to the heresie of the *Encratites*. *Jerome* (e) speaks to the same purpose of this work, and says it was writ in the time of *M. Antonine*. *Theodoret* (f) calls *Musanus* a defender of the truth, and says, he wrote against the *Severians*, which were a branch of the *Encra-*

(b) l. 4. c. 25.

(c) *De V. I.* c. 32.

(e) *De V. I.* c. 31.

(d) *Ib.* c. 28.

(f) *Haer. Fab.* l. 1. c. 21.



I. Chap. XXVIII. CLAUD. APOLLINARIS. 661

*Encratites.* Both these writers are placed by *A. D.*  
*Cave* at the year 176. 176.

XI. CLAUDIUS APOLLINARIS was Bi- *Claudius*  
*Apollina-*  
*ris.*  
shop of *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia*, of whom *Eusebe* in his *Ecclesiastical Historie* writes to this  
purpose: "At (g) the same time flourished  
" also *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, and *Apollina-*  
" *ris* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, men of great re-  
" putation. Each of which severally pre-  
" sented Apologetical discourses for the Chri-  
" stian Religion to the forementioned Em-  
" perour, [*M. Antonine*] who reigned at that  
" time." In the next chapter *Eusebe*  
speaks thus of his works: "Although there  
" are many books of *Apollinaris* still extant,  
" and in the hands of many, I am acquaint-  
" ed with these following only: An Oration  
" to the forementioned Emperour: [*This is his*  
" *Apologie.*] Five books against the Gentils:  
" Two books of truth: Two against the  
" *Jews*, and the books which he afterwards  
" wrote against the *Phrygian* heresie, which  
" not long after gave great disturbance, but  
" was then making as it were it's first appear-  
" ance, *Montanus* being as yet employed in  
" laying the foundation of that error with

X x

" his

(g) L. iv. c. 26. in.

A. D. 176. "his false Prophetesses." Serapion, not long after Bishop of *Antioch*, styles him (b) the *Blessed Claudius Apollinaris, who was Bishop of Hierapolis in Asia*. And it may be argued from his expressions, that what *Apollinaris* had writ against the *Montanists* was in the epistolarie way. *Eusebe* (i) informs us, that *Apollinaris* had mentioned the extraordinarie deliverance and victorie, which *M. Antonine* obtained in the year 174. He does not say, in which of his books this affair was mentioned, though his *Apologie* may be reckoned as likely a place for it as any.

*Jerome* in his (k) Catalogue says, *Apollinaris* flourished in the time of *M. Antonine*, to whom (l) he presented an excellent book for the *Christian faith*. He reckons his works as *Eusebe* does, except that he omits the two works against the *Jews*, which are wanting likewise in some manuscripts (m) of *Eusebe*. *Apollinaris* is mentioned again by *Jerome* in another (n) place, together with *Irenaeus*, and other the most

(b) Πέπομφα ὑμῖν καὶ Κλαυδίου Ἀπολλινάριος τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ γενομένῳ ἐν Ἱεραπόλει τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπισκόπῳ γράμματα. *ap. Euf. H. E. l. v. c. 19. p. 187. A.*

(i) *L. v. c. 5. p. 169. C. D.*

(k) *De V. l. c. 26.*

(l) Cui et insigne volumen pro fide Christianorum dedit.

(m) *Vid. Vales. annot. in loc. Euseb.*

(n) *Ad Magnum. ep. 83. al. 84.*

# Chap. XXVIII. CLAUD. APOLLINARIS. 663

most eminent Christian writers, *who*, he says, A. D.  
176.  
*had shewn in their works the origin of the several heresies, and from what sects of the Philosophers they had sprung.*

*Theodoret* has mentioned the writings of *Apollinaris* against the *Montanists*, and says, " he (o) was a man worthie of praise, and " that he had added to the knowledge of religion the studie of polite literature." In another place (p) he speaks of *Apollinaris* having writ against those *Encratites*, which were called *Severians* from *Severus*, who after *Tatian* made some additions to the peculiar notions of that sect.

*Photius* speaks of three (q) books of *Apollinaris*, which he had read; *against the Gentils, Of Piety, and of Truth*, and commends his stile. The second, *Of Piety*, is mentioned no where else that I know of. *Photius* says likewise, that there were other writings of his, which deserved to be taken notice of, but he had not seen them.

We have seen enough to satisfy us, that this author flourished in the reign of *Marc*

X x 2

*Anto-*

(o) Ἄνὴρ ἀξίεπαινος, καὶ πρὸς τὴν γνώσιν τῶν θείων καὶ τὴν ἡθελῶν παιδείαν προσειληπὸς. *Haer. Fab. l. 3. c. 2.*

(p) *Ib. l. 1. c. 2.*

(q) Πρὸς Ἕλληνας, καὶ περὶ Ἐυσεβείας, καὶ περὶ ἀληθείας. *Phot. C. 14.*



A. D. *Antonine*, about the same time with *Melito*.

176.

And *Eusebe* in his *Chronicle*, at the eleventh year of *Marc*, of Christ 171. says: Then flourished *Apollinaris*, Bishop of *Hierapolis*: which is the year next after that in which he had placed the flourishing of *Melito*. *Cave* places him at the year 170. As *Apollinaris* has spoken of the victorie of *Marc*, which happened in the year 174, and of the Legion, which he says was from thence called the Thundring Legion, and wrote against the *Montanists*, and, according to *Theodoret*, against those *Encratites*, which were called *Severians*: I choose to place him with *Melito* at the year 176, or 177, though possibly he was then in the decline of life.

Nothing remains of these writings of *Apollinaris*. It is easie to guess, we suffer a great deal in the losse of the numerous works of so eminent a person.

There are however two fragments ascribed to *Apollinaris* in the preface to the *Paschal*, or, as it is often called, the *Alexandrian Chronicle*: which the author alleges to shew, that (r) at the time when our Lord suffered, he did not eat the typical passover.

“ And

(r) P. 6. 7. *Paris*. 1668.

“ And *Apollinarius*, says he, the most ho-  
 “ ly Bishop of *Hierapolis* in *Asia*, who was  
 “ near the times of the Apostles, in (s) his  
 “ discourse of Easter teaches the same things,  
 “ saying : *There are some, who through igno-*  
 “ *rance raise contentions about these things,*  
 “ *which is a pardonable thing : for ignorance*  
 “ *is not to be blamed, but rather needs instruc-*  
 “ *tion : they say, that upon the fourteenth day*  
 “ *the Lord eat the lamb with the disciples : and*  
 “ *that on the great day of the feast of unleav-*  
 “ *ened bread he himself suffered, and that*  
 “ *Matthew says as much, as they understand*  
 “ *him : Whence it is evident, that their in-*  
 “ *terpretation is contrarie to the law : and ac-*  
 “ *cording to them the Gospels disagree.*”

“ Again (t) the same person writes in the  
 “ same book : *The fourteenth is the day of the*  
 “ *true passover, the Lord, [who is] the great*  
 “ *sacrifice, instead of the lamb the son of*  
 “ *God, who was bound, who (u) bound*  
 “ *the strong man, who though judged is (w)*  
 “ *judge of the quick and the dead : and who*

X x 3

“ was

(s) Ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶ Πάσχα λόγῳ κ. λ. ib.

(t) Καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ γέγραπεν οὕτως·  
 Η δ' τῶ ἀληθινῶ κυρίῳ Πάσχῳ, ἡ θυσία ἡ μεγάλη, κ. λ.  
 ibid.

(u) See *Matth. xii. 29. Mark iii. 27. Luke xi. 21. 22.*

(w) *Acts x. 42. and other places.*

A. D.

176.

“ was (x) delivered into the hands of sinners, that  
 “ he might be crucified : who was exalted upon  
 “ the horns of the unicorn, and whose sacred  
 “ (y) side was pierced, who also poured out of  
 “ his side two cleansers, water and blood, the  
 “ word and the spirit, and who was buried on  
 “ the day of the passover, a stone (z) being  
 “ laid upon the sepulchre.”

I think it may be questioned, whether these passages be taken out of a book of *Apollinaris*, or of some other person.

It is indeed possible, that he might write a book about Easter, though it is not expressly mentioned by *Eusebe* : for he says, there were extant many writings of *Apollinaris*, beside those he was acquainted with. But the single testimonie of a writer of the seventh centurie can hardly afford full satisfaction in this point. *Tillemont* (a) dares not relye upon their being taken out of any work of this Father. He rather thinks, they belong to *Pierius* Presbyter of *Alexandria* in the (b) third

centurie :

(x) *Mat.* xxvi. 45 *Mark* xiv. 41. and other places.

(y) *John* xix. 34.

(z) *Mat.* xxvii. 66. and all the other Gospels.

(a) Un auteur inconnu et assez nouveau cite deux passages tir z, dit il, d'un discours qu'il avoit fait sur la Pague. *Mem. E. T.* 2. P. 3. p. 91. ed. Bruxelles. St. Apollinaire.

(b) He is placed by *Cave* at the year 283. *H. L. P.* p. 191.



## Chap. XXVIII. BARDESANES.

667

centure: which may be reckoned a probable conjecture, since *Photius* has mentioned a book of *Pierius* entitled, *A (c) Discourse on Easter*.

A. D.  
~~~~~

Whoever is the author of this book, it appears from these short passages, that he owned and respected *St. Matthew's*, and the other Gospels.

XII. I insist here chiefly on Catholic authors. Nevertheless I am unwilling to omit

*Barde-
sanes.*
180.

BARDESANES THE SYRIAN: who flourished according (d) to *Cave*, about the year of *Christ* 172, the twelfth of *Marc Antonine*. There can be no inconvenience in placing him a little lower, about 180, in which year *Marc* dyed. I suppose we may hereafter see reason for so doing.

Eusebe speaks favorably of *Bardesanes*, though most later writers call him an heresiarch. "Moreover, says (e) that historian, "in the reign of the same Emperour, [*Marc Antonine*] when there were many heresies in "Mesopotamia, *Bardesanes* a most eloquent "writer in the Syriac language, and an excel-

X x 4

"lent

(c) Ἐχει δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ εἰς τὸ πᾶσα καὶ τὸν Ωσηὲ λίγω, κ. λ. *Sed.* cxix. p. 299.

(d) *Histor. Lit.* P. i. p. 47.

(e) *H. E. L. iu. cap.* 30.

A. D. 180. "lent disputant, wrote several dialogues in his own language against *Marcion*, and other authors of different opinions, beside a great number of other pieces, which his disciples (for (f) he had many followers, because (A) he strenuously defended the faith) translated out of *Syriac* into *Greek*. Among which is his excellent dialogue of *Fate*, inscribed to *Antonine*. It is said, that he wrote several other books upon occasion of the persecution of that time. He was at first a follower of *Valentinus*. But afterwards disliking his doctrine, and having discovered several parts of it to be fabulous and without foundation, he seemed to himself to have attained to the right faith. But he did not get entirely clear of his former errors." In another work *Eusebe* says, that (g) *Bardeanes* was a *Syrian*, but a compleat master of the *Chaldaic* learning.

Jerome in his (b) catalogue says: "*Bardeanes*

(f) Πλείστοι δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῷ δυνατῶς τῷ λόγῳ παρεαμένῳ. *ibid.*

(A) Some may choose to understand the original words, as expressive of the eloquence of *Bardeanes*.

(g) Ἐξ ἀνδρὸς Σύρου μὲν τὸ γένος, ἐπ' αἵματι δὲ τῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς ἐπισήμης ἐλληλεκτός. *Præp. Evang.* l. vi. p. 373. B.

(b) *Cap.* 33.

“ *desanes* was famous in *Mesopotamia*, who, A. D.
180.
 “ being first a follower of *Valentinus*, then
 “ a confuter of him, founded a new heresie.
 “ . . . He wrote a vast number of volumes
 “ against almost all the heresies that sprung up
 “ in his time: among all which his book a-
 “ bout Fate, which he inscribed to *Marc*
 “ *Antonine*, is the most celebrated, and most
 “ excellent. He wrote many other books
 “ upon occasion of the persecution, which
 “ his disciples translated out of *Syriac* into
 “ *Greek*. But if there be such force and
 “ beauty in a translation, how much may
 “ we suppose there must be in the origi-
 “ nal? ”

Jerome says, the Dialogue about Fate was
 inscribed to *Marc Antonine*, meaning the Em-
 perour, in which he is followed by many
 learned moderns. But (i) *Valesius*, and (k)
 divers others think, this to be said without
 good ground: because *Eusebe*, in his Ecclesi-
 astical Historie, does not call *Antonine*, to
 whom the book of Fate was inscribed, Em-
 perour. And when he quotes that book in
 another

(i) *Annot. in Euseb. H. E. l. 4. c. 30.*

(k) *Tillemont Mem. Ec. T. 2. Bardesane. Ernest. Sal. Cy-
 prian. ad Hieron. de V. I. cap. 33.*

A. D. another place, he calls it *(l)* a dialogue with
 180. *his friends* : or, as *Valesius* understands it, inscribed to his friends. Nor is it very likely, they say, that this book writ in the *Syriac* language should be dedicated to the *Roman* Emperour. But these arguments are not conclusive.

The abilities of *Bardefanes*, and his writings against heretics, are commended by *Jerome* in some *(m)* of his other works : and he says, that he *(n)* was admired by Heathen Philosophers.

Epiphanius *(o)* says, that *Bardefanes* was a native of *Edeffa* in *Mesopotamia*, and that he was very intimate with *Abgarus* Prince of *Edeffa*, whom he commends as a zealous Christian. *Bardefanes* is supposed to have been the adviser of a law published by that Prince, and mentioned by himself in the fragment of the book of *Fate* in *(p)* *Eusebe*.

Epipha-

(l) "Ὅς ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἐταίρους διαλόγοις. *Praep. Evang. l. vi. cap. 9. p. 273. A.*

(m) Quid de Apollinario Hierapolitanae ecclesiae sacerdote, Dionysioque Corinthiorum episcopo, et Tatiano, et Bardefane, et Irenaeo Photini Martyris successore ; qui origines haereseon singularum, et ex quibus philosophorum fontibus emanarint, multis voluminibus explicarunt ? *Ad Magnum. ep. 83.*

(n) Talis Bardefanes, cujus etiam philosophi admirantur ingenium. *Comment. in Osee cap. x.*

(o) *Haer. 56.*

(p) *Praep. Ev. l. vi. cap. x. p. 279. D.*

Epiphanius, as well as *Jerome*, counts him the author of a new heresie, which he calls that of the *Bardeſianists*. As *Epiphanius* cannot be relyed on, I shall not take all he says of this writer. It may be justly argued, that he is mistaken, when he affirms that *Bardeſanes* was skilful in *Greek*, as well as *Syriac*; this not having been mentioned by *Eusebe*, or any other authors; and they having considered his works in the *Greek* language as translations. He says too, that *Bardeſanes* was (q) originally a Catholic: whereas *Eusebe* and *Jerome* suppose him to have been first a *Valentinian*. He mentions his book *Of Fate*, and allows that there are other (r) works of his agreeable to the right faith. He tells likewise a storie very honorable to *Bardeſanes*: “ When (B) *Apollonius*, a friend
“ of the Emperour *Antonine*, perswaded him
“ to deny that he was a Christian; he almost
“ deserved to be reckoned a Confessor for the
“ pious and resolute answer which he made,
“ saying:

(q) Ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἀγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας ὤρματό. *Haer.* 56. p. 476. D.

(r) Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ κατὰ τὴν εὐσεβῆ ᾧσι ἐμφέρεται αὐτοῦ συγγράμματα. *Epiph. ibid.* p. 477. A.

(B) Of this *Apollonius* see *Tillemont Mem. Ec.* as above, and *Basnage Annal. P. E.* 173. §. 8. & *Is. Casaub. ad Jul. Capitolin. Antoninum Pium. cap. x.*

A. D.

180.

“ saying: That he was not afraid of death,
 “ which he could not escape, though he
 “ should not disobey the Emperour.” But yet,
 he says, this great genius afterwards went in-
 to several great errors. However, “ he ^(s)
 “ continued to use the Law and the Pro-
 “ phets, both the Old and the New Testa-
 “ ment, joining with them likewise some
 “ apocryphal books.” For this last *Barde-
 sanes* is not to be commended. But I wish,
 that *Epiphanius* had informed us, what were
 these apocryphal books; whether ancient or
 modern, *Jewish* or *Christian*.

Theodoret says, that *Bardesanes* was a *Sy-
 rian*, born at *Edeffa*, and that he flourished
 under *Marcus Verus*; that is, *Marc Antonine*
the Philosopher. He adds, ^(t) *Bardesanes*
 wrote many books in the *Syriac* language,
 which were translated into *Greek*. He says
 likewise, that he himself had seen his books of
Fate, against the heresie of *Marcion*, and not
 a few other.

Accord-

(s) Χρήται δὲ νόμῳ καὶ προφήταις, παλαιῇ τε καὶ καινῇ δια-
 θήκῃ, καὶ ἀποκρυφοῖς τισὶν ὡσαύτως. *ibid.* § 2. p. 477. C.

(t) Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῇ Σύρων συνέγραψε γλώττῃ, καὶ ταῦτα
 τινὲς μετέφρασαν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ρωμὴν. εὐτετύχηκα καὶ γὰρ
 λόγοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ κατὰ ἐμπαρμένους γραφεῖσι. καὶ πρὸς τὴν Μαρ-
 κίων ἄρεσιν, καὶ ἄλλοις ἐκ ὀλίγοις. *Haeret. Fab. l. i. c. ap. 22.*

According to the Anonymous author of the *Edeffen* Chronicle, who is supposed (u) to have writ about the middle of the sixth centurie, *Bardefanes* (w) was born in the year of *Christ*, 154.

A. D.
180.

There is extant a noble fragment of the Dialogue about Fate in (x) the Evangelical Preparation of *Eusebe* : in which is a passage, which may be of good use to us upon another occasion, where he expressly calls himself a Christian.

Ephrem the Syrian made (y) good use of that Dialogue of *Bardefanes*. The same *Ephrem* assures us, that (z) our author composed a hundred and fifty psalms in elegant verse, in imitation of *David's* Psalter.

Bardefanes (a) had a son named *Harmonius*, who was an ingenious and learned man : but differed little from his father, according to *Sozomen*, as to his peculiar sentiments.

There

(u) *Vid. Affeman. Biblioth. Oriental. T. i. p. 387.*

(w) *Apud Affeman. ibid. p. 389*

(x) p. 279. D.

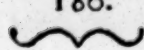
(y) *Vid. Affeman. Bib. OR. T. i. p. 124. 125.*

(z) *Varia Bardefanis scripta hoc loco commemorat S. Doctor, quae ex Sozomeno et Theodereto supra indicavimus : et addit, ab eodem centum et quinquaginta psalmos eleganti carmine fuisse elaboratos ad imitationem Psalterii Davidici. Affem. ibid. p. 132. n. 53.*

(a) *Vid. Sozomen. H. E. l. 3. c. 16. p. 526. Theodorit. Haeret. Fab. l. 1. cap. 22. et H. E. l. iv. cap. 29.*

A. D.

180.



There is a *Bardesanes* twice mentioned in the remaining works of *Porphyrie*. It has been generally (b) thought, that there were two of this name; *Bardesanes the Syrian*, of whom we have spoken, who lived in the second century; and *Bardesanes the Babylonian*, author of a book concerning the *Indian Philosophers*, called by the *Greeks* *Gymnosophists*, who lived at the beginning of the third century, and is cited by *Porphyrie*. But *Tillemont* (c) makes no scruple of allowing *Bardesanes the Babylonian* to be the same with him who is usually called *the Syrian*. Upon this supposition *Dodwell* (d) has formed an argument against the common opinion of the age of *Bardesanes*, which is, that he flourished in the time of *M. Antonine* the Philosopher. Perhaps that learned man would not have insisted on this argument, if he had seen the *Edessen Chronicle*, since published by *Dr. Asseman*. However we will consider the difficulty, without

(b) Vid *Voss. de Historicis Græcis*; *Morey's Dictionary*, and the Supplement.

(c) *Bardefane* étoit Syrien d'extraction, originaire d'Edesse en la Mésopotamie. Et comme ce pays n'étoit pas loin de celui de Babylone, c'est lui sans doute, que l'on appelle quelque fois *Bardefane le Babylonien*. *Mem. Eccl. Bardefane*. T. 2. P. 3. p. 93.

(d) *Dissert. Iren. iv. cap. 35.*

out pretending to set it aside upon the Chronicle alone, though it's authority may be justly reckoned to be of weight in this question.

A. D.
180.

In one place *Porphyrus* quotes *Bardanes the Babylonian*, who, says he (e), lived in the time of our fathers. In the other (f) he speaks of some, who waited on *Bardanes of Mesopotamia* at the time that the Emperour *Antonine*, who was of *Emesa*, came into *Syria*. He means the Emperour *Antoninus Heliogabalus*, whose (g) reign is computed from the year 218. to 222.

Dodwell (h) therefore suspects, that *Eusebe* has mistaken the Emperour, under whom
Barde-

(e) Ὡς Βαρδηςάνης, ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος, ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν γεγονώς. καὶ ἐντυχὼν τοῖς περὶ Δαμάδαμιν [al. Δάνδαμιν] περιεμμένοις Ἰνδοῖς πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα, ἀνέγραψεν. *Porphyr de Abst. l. iv. §. 17. p. 167. Cantabrigiae, 1655.*

(f) Ἰδοῦ οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ ἐξ Ἐμισῶν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν ἀφικομένου Βαρδηςάνη τῷ ἐκ Μεσοποταμίας εἰς λόγους ἀφικομένοι ἐξηγήσαντο, ὡς ὁ Βαρδηςάνης ἀνέγραψεν. κ. λ. *De Styge p. 282. περὶ ὃ ὁ Βαρδηςάνης τάδε γράφει. ib. p. 283.*

(g) Vid. *Pagi Critic. in Baron. 222. §. 2.*

(h) Sed vereor ne recentioribus Eusebio historicis omnibus imposuerit Eusebius, qui Marco librum illum *de Fato* putat a Bardesane dictum. Eusebium autem ipsum, ni fallor, fefellit Homonymia in voce Antonini. Sub Antonino enim, non Marco, sed Emesa oriundo, Elagabalo, floruit Bardesanes scriptor celeberrimus, e Syria etiam eadem qua et Haereticus, Mesopotamia, teste certissimo Porphyrio de Styge. . . . *Diff. l. iv. §. 35.*

A. D. ^{180.} *Bardefanes* flourished. Finding the book of Fate inscribed to *Antonine*, he concluded *Marc Antonine* the Philosopher to be thereby intended: whereas it was probably the Emperour *Heliogabalus*, who was of *Emesa*, and had also the name of *Antonine*. And *Eusebe* being himself deceived has deceived and misled all following historians. So that learned man. *Grabe* (i) too was of opinion, that *Bardefanes* flourished in the time of *Heliogabalus*.

And it is obvious, that *Porphyrie's Bardefanes* is of the same countrey with him mentioned by Christian writers; that is, of *Mesopotamia*. And as *Porphyrie* calls him a *Babylonian*, so does (k) *Jerome* likewise, in a place not yet referred to, cite *Bardefanes the Babylonian*. The quotation too is a part of one of the passages alleged by (l) *Porphyrie*. We before observed, that *Jerome* assures us, *Bardefanes* was admired by Philosophers. Accordingly we find one of that name, cited by *Porphyrie* with respect. These particulars

seem

(i) *Spicileg.* T. i. p. 317.

(k) *Bardefanes vir Babylonius in duo dogmata apud Indos Gymnosophistas dividit, &c. Adv. Jovin. l. 2. T. iv. col. 206. Ed Marrian.*

(l) *Vid. Porphy. de abstin. p. 169.*

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A. D.

180.

seem to render it probable, that one and the same person is every where intended. And, if so, *Porphyrie* has determined his age, about which all our authors are mistaken.

Let us however consider their testimonie, and whether it is likely, that they should be in the wrong. *Dodwell* allows, that *Eusebe*, both in his *Historie* and *Chronicle*, places *Bardesanes* near *Tatian*. This uniformity of computation seems to shew, that *Eusebe* had no doubt of the truth of it. All our Christian writers agree together about the age of *Bardesanes*, and they had every one of them some knowledge of his writings. *Eusebe* knew very well the book of *Fate*. He was not wholly unacquainted with his other performances, as appears from his observation, that *Bardesanes* did not get entirely clear of his former errors. *Jerome* too commends his stile and learning. *Epiphanius* passes his judgement upon the writings of this author, approving some, and condemning others. And *Theodoret* says expressly, that he had seen a great many of them: which acquaintance with his works may be reasonably supposed to have enabled them to judge of his age, without depending upon the authority of *Eusebe*. Then *Epiphanius* relates some conver-

Y y

sation

A. D. 180. { sation between *Bardefanes* and *Apollonius*, a friend of the Emperour *Antonine*. And there was, beside others, a *Stoic* Philosopher of that name, of *Chalcis* too, a city in *Syria*, who was (*m*) first a master, and afterwards an intimate friend of *Marc Antonine*. Finally *Eusebe* informs us, that it was generally said, (he is not certain of this) that *Bardefanes* wrote some books concerning the persecution of that time, meaning the reign of *Marc*. And *Epiphanius* informs us of the persuasions, or threatenings of *Apollonius*, to induce *Bardefanes* to renounce the Christian Religion. These particulars concur in describing the reign of *Marc*, not that of *Heliogabalus*, or his immediate predecessors, which *Dodwell* allows not to have been times of remarkable rigour against the Christians.

I think then, that we may allow, that *Porphyrie* and the Christian writers speak of one and the same person: and that we need not dispute either his, or their authority concerning the age of *Bardefanes*, but may reconcile them together. The visit to *Bardefanes*, of which *Porphyrie* makes mention, when
Anto-

(*m*) Vid. *Jul. Capitolin. in Antonino Pio. cap. x. et M. Antonino Philos. c. 2. 3.*

Antoninus Heliogabalus came into *Syria*, was made, we may suppose, in the year 218, before *Heliogabalus* set out from *Antioch* to go to *Rome*. And it is likely, that *Bardesanes* did not live long after this, he having dyed before the time of *Porphyrie*, who was born about the year 232. For so *Porphyrie* says: *He lived in the time of our fathers.*

Probably at the year 218 *Bardesanes* was of a great age. His extensive knowledge, vast reputation, the great number of his books, and of his followers, and his change of sentiments, are indications of no short, but rather of a long life. Possibly too he was an author in the early part of his life. Great men are usually first of all illustrious youths. There are many men, who have flourished, as authors, thirty or forty years, and more. *Tertullian*, about the same time, flourished as long: *Libanius* of the same countrey, longer. I perceive not any absurdity in supposing *Bar-desanes* to have been a writer of repute in the reign of *Marc Antonine*, and his being alive, and greatly respected in the year 218. or 220.

If, according to the *Edeffen* Chronicle, *Bardesanes* was born in 154, he was not yet seventy years of age in 220; and he would

A. D.

180.

be twenty six years of age compleat in 180, the year in which *Marc* dyed, before which time he might have writ several books.

Thus *Porphyrie* and our Christian writers are reconciled, even allowing them all to speak of one and the same person. It happens, that *Porphyrie* has spoken of some things near the conclusion of *Bardesanes's* life: whilst our authors have chiefly mentioned him about the time when he began to be famous in the world, without (c) denying him to have continued much longer.

All this is proposed to be considered upon the supposition, that *Porphyrie* and the Christian writers speak of one and the same *Bar-desanes*.

(c) *Without denying him to have continued much longer.* We must however except *Epiphanius*, according to the common reading and interpretation of his words; *Haer.* 56. §. 1. *διήκεσε μὲν μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν ἄχρι τῶν χρόνων Ἀνταίνου Καίσαρος, οὐ τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς καλουμένου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Οὐίρη.* That he continued after the death of *Agbarus* until the times of the Emperour *Antonine*, not him who is called *Pious*, but *Verus*: that is, *Marc Antonine* the Philosopher: which words must be allowed to imply, that *Bar-desanes* did not outlive the reign of *Marc*. But on the other hand, if we could suppose *Epiphanius* to mean *Heliogabalus*, who was often called *Varius*, [vid. *Lampridii Antonin. Heliogab. cap. i.*] he would afford an argument, not that *Bar-desanes* flourished in the time of *Heliogabalus*, as *Grabe* says, [*Spicileg. T. i. p. 317.*] but that he continued till the reign of that Emperour, after having been eminent for a considerable time before, which may be the truth. But I think it in vain to criticise upon the words of *Epiphanius*, whose chronologie is not always exact.

desanes. But I do not allow that to be certain, and out of doubt. For methinks, it may be very well questioned, whether *Jerome*, when he quotes *Bardesanes the Babylonian*, means the same, whom he has several times mentioned as a Christian, or a heretic. However I maintain, that our Christian writers are not mistaken about the time of *Bar-desanes*, whom they speak of as living, and being an author in the reign of *Marc Antonine*. And I take it for granted, that I have said enough to clear them from all suspicion of mistake in this matter.

A. D.

XIII. *Eusebe* has given a short account of *Apollonius*, who suffered martyrdom at *Rome* in the time of *Commodus*; probably in the year 186, or 187. He says, that (n) *Apollonius was celebrated for learning and philosophy*. Being accused before *Perennis*, [Prefect of the Praetorium] “ *Perennis* desired him to give an account of himself before the Senate, which he did in a most eloquent Apologie for the faith pronounced in that assemblie: and was then sentenced to lose his head, as by a decree of the Senate.”

Y y 3

Eusebe

(n) Απολλώνιον ἄνδρα τῶν τό τε πινῶν ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ βεβηκένον. H. E. l. 5. c. 21. p. 189. C.

A. D. *Eusebe* adds: “ They who are desirous to
 186. “ read what *Apollonius* said before the judge,
 “ his answers to the interrogatories of *Pe-*
 “ *rennis*, and (o) his whole Apologie in the
 “ Senate, may find them in the collection,
 “ which I have made of the ancient martyr-
 “ doms.” Which collection is lost.

Jerome has given *Apollonius* a place in his Catalogue (p) of Ecclesiastical Writers. He calls him a *Senator of Rome*. “ Being com-
 “ manded to give an account of his faith, he
 “ composed an excellent piece, which he read
 “ in the Senate. But nevertheless he was
 “ beheaded for Christ by order of the Se-
 “ nate.”

There are difficulties attending some parts of the historie of *Apollonius*, which I pass over, considering him at present chiefly as an author. *Jerome* says, he read his Apologie in the Senate, which is not said by *Eusebe* in his Ecclesiastical Historie. However he deserves to be reckoned an author. If he only pronounced the Apologie, it might be taken down from him in writing. *Eusebe* is express, that this whole Apologie might be read in his collection of the Acts of Martyrs.

Jerome

(o) Πᾶσαν τε τὴν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπολογίαν. *ib.* D.
 (p) *De V. I.* c. 42.

Jerome (q) in another work mentions *Apollonius* among some of the most eminent Christian Writers. He is there placed with *Greek* authors. But in his Catalogue in the article of *Tertullian*, he says, that Father was then reckoned the *first of the Latin writers after Victor and Apollonius*, where he seems to mean the same person. Possibly the reason of this different way of reckoning may be, that *Apollonius* delivered his Apologie to the Senate in *Latin*, but in *Jerome's* time it was extant only in *Greek*, in the Acts of the ancient Martyrs, collected by *Eusebe*.

A. D.

XIV. RHODON is spoken of by *Eusebe*,^{Rhodon. 190.} in his Ecclesiastical Historie, under the reign of *Commodus*. *Jerome* (r) says, he flourished in the times of *Commodus* and *Severus*. They both say, he was a native of *Asia*. I shall confine myself to the account, which *Eusebe* gives of his works. He says, that *Rhodon* wrote several books; among others one against the heresie of *Marcion*, which he assures us was then divided into several parties. He relates a conference, which he had with

Y y 4

Apelles,

(q) Scripsit et Miltiades contra gentes volumen egregium. Hippolytus quoque et Apollonius, Romanae Urbis Senator, propria opuscula condiderunt. *Ad Magn. Ep.* 83. al. 84.

(r) *De V. I.* c. 37.

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(r) *De V. I.* c. 37.

A. D.

Apelles, one of them, then an old man, whom he confuted and exposed. “ In the same book, *says (s) Eusebe*, which he inscribes to *Callistion*, he informs us, that he had been instructed by *Tatian* at *Rome*, and says, that *Tatian* had composed a book of difficult Questions, for the explication of several obscure places of Scripture: *Rhodon* at the same times promises to put out a distinct work, containing a solution of those Questions. There is extant a Commentarie of his upon the six days work of the creation.”

Victor.
196.

XV. VICTOR, as we are informed by (t) *Eusebe*, succeeded *Eleutherus* Bishop of *Rome*, in the reign of the Emperour *Commodus*. He says, that upon occasion of a difference about keeping the time of Easter, “ *Victor* endeavored to cut off from the common unity all the churches of *Asia*, together with the churches in their neighborhood, as holding things contrarie to the right faith: and (u) by letters proscribed, and declared excommunicated all the brethren

(s) L. v. c. 13.

(t) H. E. l. v. c. 22. *init.*

(u) Καὶ ἐπιτίθει γε διὰ γραμμάτων, αἰωνιότητος ἀρδῶν πάντας τοὺς ἐκείσε ἀνάκηρύττων ἀδελφούς. l. v. c. 24. p. 192. B. C.

“ thren in those parts:” for which he was reproved (x) by *Irenaeus* and other Bishops, as acting contrarie to the laws of peace and charity. A. D.
196.

There was before this a synodical letter upon the same question, writ (y) by the Bishops assembled at *Rome*, which had *Victor's* name prefixed.

Jerome in his (z) Catalogue says: “ *Vic-
tor*, the thirteenth Bishop of the city of
“ *Rome*, wrote about the question of Easter,
“ and other small pieces. He governed the
“ church ten years under the Emperour *Se-
verus*.” In his Chronicle *Jerome* says,
that in his time there were extant (a) some
books of *Victor* concerning religion, which were
tolerably well writ: though perhaps he speaks
rather of the bulk than of the merit of his
books. They are not in being now. There
are extant however some letters ascribed to
him, but (b) without ground, as is general-
ly allowed.

XVI.

(x) *Ibid.* p. 192. 193.

(y) Καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Ρώμης δὲ ὁμοίως ἄλλη περὶ τῆ αὐτοῦ
ζητήματι, ἐπίσκοπον Βίκτορα δηλοῦσα. l. v. c. 23. p.
190. D.

(z) *Cap.* 34.

(a) *Cujus mediocria de religione extant volumina.* p. 171.

(b) *Vid. Basnage Annal.* 192. §. 8. *Pagi Critic. in Baron.*
196. §. 3. *Tillemont Mem. Ec.* T. 3. *St. Victor, Article 8.*

A. D.
196.
Bacchylus.

XVI. BACCHYLUS, Bishop of *Corinth*, successor of the forementioned *Dionysius*, is mentioned by *Eusebe*, with *Polycrates* Bishop of *Ephesus*, *Serapion* Bishop of *Antioch*, and others, who (c) had left testimonies of the orthodoxie of their faith in writing. He afterwards speaks of a letter, writ (d) by *Bacchylus* about the time of celebrating Easter. *Jerome* in his Catalogue says: “ *Bacchylus* “ Bishop of *Corinth*, who flourished in the “ time of the Emperour *Severus*, wrote (e) “ an elegant book about Easter in the name “ of all the Bishops in *Achaia*.” I suppose, he means the epistle mentioned by *Eusebe*.

Theophi-
lus, and
Narcissus.
196.

XVII. THEOPHILUS Bishop of *Cesarea*, and NARCISSUS Bishop of *Jerusalem*, are likewise mentioned by (f) *Eusebe* in the forecited place, together with those who had testified the orthodoxie of their faith by their writings. Afterwards he (g) says, “ that “ there is extant an Epistle [about the ques- “ tion of Easter] in the name of the Bishops “ of *Palestine* assembled in council, over “ whom

(c) H. E. l. v. c. 22. p. 190. A. B.

(d) *Ib.* c. 23. p. 291. A.

(e) *Elegantem librum scripsit. De V. I. c. 44.*

(f) H. E. l. v. c. 22.

(g) *Ibid.* c. 23.

Chap. XXVIII. THEOPHILUS, &c. 687

“ whom presided *Theophilus* Bishop of *Cesarea*, and *Narcissus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*.” A. D.
196.
Eusebe (b) has mentioned some particulars of this letter, and transcribed a passage out of it.

Jerome (i) says, “ that *Theophilus* Bishop of *Cesarea* in *Palestine*, in the time of *Severus*, composed together with the other Bishops of that countrey a very useful synodical epistle against those who kept Easter with the *Jews* on the fourteenth day of the moon.”

Jerome has no particular article in his Catalogue for *Narcissus*. He speaks of him however in the chapter of (k) *Alexander*, who was afterwards *Colleague*, or *Coadjutor* of *Narcissus* in the church of *Jerusalem*. *Narcissus* lived to (l) a great age. There are several remarkable stories concerning him in (m) *Eusebe*, which we may have occasion to take notice of some other time.

There have been published *Acts of the Council of Cesarea concerning the question of keeping Easter*. But they are with good reason

(b) *Ibid.* c. 25.

(i) *De V. I.* c. 43.

(k) *Ibid.* c. 62.

(l) *Vid. Hieron. ibid. et Euf. H. E. l. vi. c. xi.*

(m) *Ibid.* c. ix. xi.

A. D. son suspected, and rejected by (*n*) several learned men, as not genuine.

*Symma-
chus.*
200.

XVIII. Having given, beside Catholic Writers, a short historie of *Bardefanes*, whom *Eusebe* does not allow to have been compleatly orthodox, and others call an Heresiarch, I shall conclude this chapter with SYMMACHUS.

Before the nativity of our Saviour there was no other *Greek* Version of the books of the Old Testament, but that called the Version of the Seventy. In the time of *Origen* there were, 'beside that, the versions of *Aquila*, (who lived in the reign of *Adrian*) *Theodotion*, *Symmachus*, and two or three other, which are Anonymous: though these last seem not to have contained a translation of all the Old Testament, but of some particular books only.

The exact age of *Symmachus* is not certain, some reckoning him a writer of the second, others of the third centurie. It is likewise disputed, which version of the Old Testament was first made; that of *Theodotion*, or *Symmachus*. *Petavius* thinks (*o*) *Theodotion's* was

(*n*) Vid. *Fabric. Bibl. Gr. T. v. p. 194. Tillemont. Mem. Ecc. T. 3. P. i. p. 177. and 479. Bruxelles.*

(*o*) *Annotat. ad Epiphan. de Mensuris et Ponderibus. cap. 16.*

was first in the order of time. *Hody* (p) and (q) most other learned men are of a different opinion. I shall put down here only an observation of (r) *Hody*: It is not easie to determine the year, or the reign, in which either *Theodotion* or *Symmachus* made their versions. But it is certain, that *Theodotion's* was published, before *Irenaeus* wrote his work *Against Heresies*, because he is there cited. And it is probable, that *Symmachus* had not then published his version; because when (s) *Irenaeus* quotes *Aquila* and *Theodotion*, he makes no mention of *Symmachus*, though there was the same reason for mentioning him as the other two. This argument seems to me sufficient to shew at least, that *Irenaeus* was not acquainted with the version of *Symmachus*, if it was then published.

I speak of *Symmachus* at the end of the second centurie, which is very little different from (t) *Cave's* computation, who has fixed the

(p) *De Biblior. Text. Orig.* l. iv. p. 579.

(q) This point may be seen argued in *Du Pin Dissertation Prelim.* l. i. c. vi. §. 5. *Huet Origeniana.* p. 256, *Montfaucon Praelim. in Hexapla Origenis: Fabric. B. b. Gr. T.* ii. p. 336. &c. *Tillemont. Mem. Ec. T.* 3. *Origene.* Art. 8. et note x. beside *Hody* as above l. iv. See likewise *Dodwel. Diff. Iren.* iv. c. 40.

(r) *Ibid.* p. 580. m.

(s) *L.* 3. c. 21. al. 24.

(t) *H. Lit.* p. 64.

A. D. the time of his flourishing at the first year of
 200. the third centure.

Epiphanius (u) says, that *Symmachus* was a *Samaritan*, and one of those whom they call *Wise Men*: But meeting with some disappointment in his ambitious views among his own people, he turned *Jew*. He must have been converted afterwards to *Christianity*, for *Eusebe* (x) and others (y) call him an *Ebionite*: and it is not improbable, that this is what *Epiphanius* (z) means, when he says *Symmachus* turned *Jew*, he considering *Ebionitism* as a sort of *Judaism*. According to some (a) ancient authors, the *Ebionites*, or some branch of them, were called *Symmachians* from him.

I enlarge no farther in the historie of *Symmachus*, which may be seen in (b) *Hody*, who has likewise collected a great number of
 ancient

(u) Συμμαχος τις Σαμαρείτης τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς σοφῶν. κ. λ. *De Mens. et Pond.* c. 16. p. 172. B. *Vid. et Synopsin scriptur. apud Athanas.* T. 2. p. 203.

(x) *Euseb.* H. E. l. vi. c. 17. *Dem. Ev.* l. vii. cap. 1. p. 316. C.

(y) *Hieronym.* *De Vir. Ill.* cap. 54. *Suidas* V. Ωπρυέννης. *Theodorit.* *Haer. Fab.* l. 2. cap. 1.

(z) *Vid. Montfaucon Praeliminaria in Origenis Hexapla.* p. 51.

(a) *Ambrosius* seu quis alius in *Prologo commentariorum* in epistolam ad Galatas: et *Augustinus* in lib. 1. *contra Crescen.* cap. 31. *vid. Vales.* ad *Euseb.* vi. 17.

(b) *Ubi supra.* l. iv. c. 1. §. 7.

ancient testimonies relating to him. Our ^{A. D.} chief concern at present is with a passage of ^{200.} *Eusebe* in his Ecclesiastical Historie.

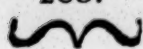
Having given an account of *Origen's* labours in the Old Testament, and particularly of the editions of his *Tetrapla* and *Hexapla*; in the former of which were the Versions only of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, and *Theodotion*, together with that of the *Seventy*; *Eusebe* proceeds in the following chapter: "Moreover it
 " ought to be observed, that *Symmachus*, one
 " of those interpreters, was an *Ebionite*.
 " These *Ebionites* are such as say, *Christ* was
 " born of *Joseph* and *Marie*, and suppose
 " him to have been a mere man: and contend
 " that the law ought to be kept after the man-
 " ner of the *Jews*, as we have before shewn.
 " And (c) to this day there are extant Com-
 " mentaries of *Symmachus*, in which (d) he
 " endeavors

(c) Καὶ ὑπομνήματα δὲ τῷ Συμμάχῳ εἰσέτι νῦν φέρεται
 ἐν οἷς δοκεῖ πρὸς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἀποτεινὸν μὲν εὐαγγέ-
 λιον, τὴν δεδηλωμένην αἵρεσιν κρατύνειν. Ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ωρι-
 γένης μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων εἰς τὰς γραφὰς ἐρμηνειῶν τοῦ Συμ-
 μάχου, σημαίνει παρὰ Ἰουλιανῆς τινὸς εἰληφέναι ἢν καὶ φησὶ
 παρ' αὐτοῦ Συμμάχου τὰς βίβλους διαδέξασθαι. *Eus. H. E.*
l. vi. c. 17.

(d) The original words are, ἐν οἷς δοκεῖ — κρατύνειν..
 Which have been generally understood by modern interpreters,
 as if *Eusebe* only said, that *Symmachus* seems to confirm the
 fore-said heresie, supra dictam haeresin aditruere videtur. *Mont-*
faucou has a learned observation upon the force of the Greek
 word;

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“ endeavors to support the fore-mentioned
 “ heresie from the Gospel according to *Mat-*
 “ *thew*. These, together with *Symmachus's*
 “ other translations of the scriptures, *Origen*.
 “ had, as he informs us, from one *Juliana* :
 “ who, he says likewise, received those books
 “ from *Symmachus* himself.”

Valesius (e) contends, that the words above cited ought to be thus translated: *There are still extant Commentaries of Symmachus, in which disputing strongly against Matthew's Gospel, he seems to confirm the foresaid heresie*. He does not deny, that the *Ebionites* received St. *Matthew's* Gospel. But he says, their Gospel of *Matthew* was corrupted and mutilated: and he supposes therefore, that in this work *Symmachus* disputed against our authentic genuine Gospel of St. *Matthew*.

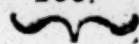
But *Valesius* has made few converts to this opinion, most other learned men understanding this passage agreeably to the version which I have given of it. And in favour of this sense

word; and corrects this interpretation: cum sexcentis exemplis probetur τὸ δὲ ὁμοῦ, maxime apud scriptores ecclesiasticos, non minuere affirmationem; qua de re vide onomasticum nostrum ad Athanasii opera in voce ὁμοῦ. *Praelimin. in Origenis Hexapla. p. 83.*

(e) *Ad locum Eusebii.*

(f) P. 338.
Tillemont
 note 2.

(g) I quosdam
 gesto sec
 mare. A
 (b) A
 onaci, e
 quoque
 tum do
 (i) D



sense (f) it has been alleged, that this passage was so translated by (g) *Ruffin*, and was understood in the same manner (h) by *Jerome*: not to insist here on *Nicephorus Calisti*, *Suidas*, or others, who have taken it in this sense. It is possible indeed, that the Gospel according to *Matthew*, used by *Symmachus*, varied in some things from our Gospel. But how far, or in what particulars, we cannot so much as pretend to make a conjecture: though if *Symmachus* was of that branch of the *Ebionites*, which said that Jesus was born of *Joseph* and *Marie*, (as *Eusebe* seems to hint, and *Theodorët* (i) expressly says:) it might be suspected, that he did not receive the first chapter of *St. Matthew's* Gospel. If this work of *Symmachus* were now extant, it would be a curiosity. It would in all probability give us a great deal of light into the

Z z

notions

(f) Vid. *Hody*, ibid. 585. 586. *Fabric. Bibl. Gr. T.* 2. p. 338. 339. *Ittigius in Dissertat. de Haeresiarchis.* p. 72. *Tillemont Mem. E. T.* 2. P. i. *Les Ebionites.* p. 198. and note 2. *Montfaucon Praeliminaria in Origenis Hexapla* p. 13.

(g) *Eusebii* verba sic vertit *Ruffinus*: *Sed et commentarios quosdam Symmachus conscripsit, in quibus conatur de evangelio secundum Matthaeum auctoritatem suae haereseos confirmare. Apud Hodium.* ibid.

(h) *Aquilae* scilicet *Pontici Profelyti*, et *Theodotionis Ebionaei*, et *Symmachi* ejusdem dogmatis, qui in evangelium quoque κατὰ Ματθαῖον scripsit commentarios, de quo et suum dogma confirmare conatur. *De V. I. Origen. cap. 54.*

(i) *De Haer. Fab. l. 2. c. i.*

A. D. ^{200.} notions of the *Ebionites*, and satisfy us how far the Gospel of *Matthew*, which they used, was genuine, or corrupted: and what respect they had for the other Gospels: and how far they owned the authority of *Paul*, or the other twelve Apostles of Christ.

Eusebe adds: *These* [Commentaries] together with *Symmachus's* other translations [or, interpretations] of the scriptures *Origen* had, as he informs us, from *Juliana*. By these other translations *Hody* (k) understands some comments, or expositions of the Scripture different from the Greek Version of the Old Testament made by *Symmachus*. But he owns at the same time, that *Ruffin* understood these words of the Version. They are so understood likewise by (l) *Cave*, and (m) *Dodwell*, and others. I think, this sense cannot be well disputed: especially, if we consider, that

(k) Cum dicit μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐρμηνειῶν, cum aliis interpretationibus. perspicuum est intelligi non translationem, quod putavit *Ruffinus*, sed expositiones quasdam scripturarum. *Ruffinus* postrema ea sic vertit: Haec ipse *Origenes* cum interpretatione ipsius *Symmachi* scribit se apud *Julianam* quandam reperisse. *Hod.* *ibid.* p. 587.

(l) *Hist. Lit.* P. i. p. 64.

(m) *Disserta. Iren.* iv. c. 40. *Vid. et Fabric. Bibl. Gr.* Tom. 2. p. 339.

that there were two (n) editions of the Version of *Symmachus*: though, if there were but one edition of that Version; the words of *Eusebe*, taken in connexion with what precedes, could not be understood, in my opinion, of any thing but the version, which *Symmachus* had made of the Old Testament.

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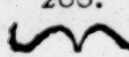
Hody thinks, that *Symmachus* was not only an interpreter of the Old Testament, but likewise an expositor of the New: and that not barely on account of his commentaries upon the Gospel of St. *Matthew*, mentioned by *Eusebe*, but for some exposition of St. *Paul's* Epistles. This supposition is founded upon a passage of *Agobardus*, Bishop of *Lyons* in the beginning of the ninth centurie. I shall put the passage in (o) the margin. But I apprehend,

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(n) Sic Hieronymus in *Jer.* 32. et in *Nabum* cap. 3. ab *Hodio* laudatus *ibid.* p. 586.

(o) *Symmachum* non modo ut interpretem V. Testamenti, verum etiam ut expositorem Novi commemorare videtur *Agobardus* Epist. ad *Fredegisum* cap. xi. [*conferatur* cap. ix.] *Haec omnia idcirco dicimus, ut appareat, quia quam injuste a vobis criminamur, cum dicitis nos reprehensores apostolorum et divinarum scripturarum esse tam injuste, vel potius multo injustius quoscunque interpretes atque expositores coaequatis Apostolis et Evangelistis; cum Symmachum et Paulum, et Didymum et Joannem una defensione indifferentique laude dignos ducitis.* Respicere videtur ad expositionem Epistolarum Paulinarum ab eo conscriptam. *Hodius ibid.* p. 587.

(p) Neque *Agobardum* vel *catenarum* compositores aliud opus

A. D. 200. prehend, no certain conclusion can be found upon it. *Fabricius* (p) thinks, that *Agobardus* refers to nothing else but the Version of the Old Testament.

Hody (q) supposes likewise, that (r) *Ferome* speaks of some work of *Symmachus* writ in the *Latin* tongue. *Fabricius* (s) apprehends, that *Ferome's* words are not to be understood of *Symmachus*. This is a matter of no great consequence. But *Hody's* seems to be the most natural interpretation of *Ferome*. If this were a clear point, it would be an additional argument of the abilities and diligence of this *Ebionite*: who then would be reckoned a master of more languages, than the most learned generally were at that time.

opus Symmachi quam versionem Bibliorum respicere existimo, quemadmodum Hodius ipse probe animadvertit Symmachum inter Latinos Patres quandoque referri, quod Latini Ecclesiae doctores ejus translatione usi fuerunt. *Fabric. Bibl. Gr. L. 3. cap. 12. T. 2. p. 349.*

(q) *Ibid. p. 587.*

(r) *Symmachus* igitur pro eo quod [Ps. cxxxv.] est in Graeco *πρόσκιον*, in Hebraeo, *Segula*, expressit *ἐξαιρέτων*, id est, *egregium* vel *praecipuum*: pro quo verbo in alio volumine Latino sermone utens, *peculiarem* interpretatus est. *Hieron. Comm. in Ep. ad Tit. cap. 2.*

(s) Sed videtur Hieronymus loqui de Latino veteri interprete, qui in alio volumine, h. e. non in Psalmis, sed in alio libro Biblico *πρόσκιον* reddiderit *peculiarem*. *Fabric. ibid. p. 339.*



CHAP. XXIX.

*Supposititious Writings of the second
centurie.*

- I. *The ACTS of PAUL and THECLA.*
II. *The SIBYLLINE ORACLES.* III.
The TESTAMENTS of the XII PA-
TRIARCHS. IV. *The RECOGNI-*
TIONS. V. *The CLEMENTIN HO-*
MILIES. VI. *The CLEMENTIN*
EPITOME. VII. *REMARKS upon*
the three last pieces. VIII. *The*
CONCLUSION of the second Cen-
turie,

THERE were, before the end of the
second centurie, several writings com-
posed and published under the names of emi-
nent persons, to whom they do not really be-
long, as is generally allowed. I need not en-
quire, what were the views of the authors of
these works. Some might design thereby the

advancement of the Christian Religion in general. Others might intend to recommend, together with that, some particular notions and sentiments, which they had entertained. Whatever were the views of the authors, I have thought the writings themselves might be of some use to us at this time. If in these pieces, published under borrowed names, the main facts and principles of the New Testament are asserted; this may be esteemed an additional confirmation of the truth of the Christian doctrine, beside what is afforded in the genuine writings of this early age. For this reason I have made some extracts out of divers supposititious pieces, and here propose them to the reader's consideration.

*Acts of
Paul and
Thecla.*

I. THE ACTS, or *Travels of PAUL AND THECLA* have been (A) already shewn not to be a work of the Apostle *Paul*, but of some weak Presbyter of *Asia*, and never to have had any authority in the church of Christ. It is not certainly known, when they were composed. It may be however reckoned probable that they were writ in the later part of the first, or the beginning of the second century.

There

(A) *Chap. xxvii. n. xxii.*

There is still extant a book with that title, both in *Greek* and *Latin*, published by the late Dr. *Grabe* from manuscripts in the *Bodleian* Librarie. That learned man supposes it to be the work itself of the forementioned Presbyter, with only some (a) few interpolations. That there are interpolations, cannot be well disputed, even allowing it to be for the main part the ancient piece published under this title. The old *Latin* Version appears to me more sincere and uncorrupt than the *Greek* copie: but I think them both to have been oftener interpolated, than *Grabe* supposed, and in things of great consequence.

I shall take a few passages of this book, containing, as I suppose, allusions, or imitations of some parts of the New Testament.

I. And in the first place I observe, that in this book *Onesiphorus* and *Titus* are introduced, as admirers and friends of the Apostle *Paul*: and *Demas*, *Hermogenes*, *Alexander* the copper-smith (B) are represented as his pretended

Z z 4 friends,

(a) Tandem etiamsi concedatur, antiqua Acta Theclae quibusdam in locis interpolata esse, nihilominus ipsa in lucem edere operae pretium existimavi, quia paucissima sunt, quae in suspicionem corruptionis trahi queant, eaque haud magni momenti. *Grabe Spicileg.* T. i. p. 94.

(B) At the begining of these *Acts* in the *Greek* copy *Demas* and *Hermogenes* only are mentioned, which last is called a copper-smith.

friends, but real enemies: And, whereas St. Paul 2 Tim. ii. 17, speaks of some, particularly *Hymeneus and Philetus*: who concerning the truth have erred, saying that the resurrection is past, and overthrow the faith of some; so here these enemies of the Apostle, Demas and *Hermogenes*, are brought in saying, “ that
 2 Tim. ii. 17. “ (b) they will shew, that the resurrection,
 “ which Paul says is to be, is already past
 “ [or made] in the children which they have,
 “ and that they have risen by knowing the
 “ truth.” I put down now two or three other passages.

2. Paul is said to have preached at *Iconium* in the house of *Onesiphorus*, in this manner: “ Blessed (c) are the pure in heart, for
 “ they

per Smith. Ἀναβαίνοντες τῷ Παύλῳ εἰς Ἰκόνιον. . . . ἐγενήθησαν αὐτῷ συνεπιπόροι Δημῶς καὶ Ἑρμογένης ὁ καλκεὺς, υποκριταὶ καὶ γέριτοι. Spicil. p. 93. In the Latin Version Alexander the copper-smith is joined with the other two: Facti sunt ei comites Demas, Ermogenes, Alexander aerarius, repleti simulatione. ibid. r. 120.

(b) Καὶ ἡμεῖς διδάσκωμεν, ὅτι ἦν λέγει οὗτος ἀνδρασιν γενέσθαι, ἤδη γέγονεν ἐφ' οὗς ἔχομεν τέκνους, καὶ ἀνέστημεν, Θεὸν ἐπιγινώσκοντες. p. 101. init. Confer. Ver. Lat. p. 122.

(c) Μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν Θεὸν ὁρῶνται. Μακάριοι οἱ ἀγνὴν τὴν σάρκα τηρήσαντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ναοὶ Θεοῦ γενήσονται. . . . Μακάριοι οἱ ἔχοντες ζυγαῖκας ὡς μέτρουοντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἀγγελοὶ Θεοῦ γενήσονται. . . . Μακάριοι οἱ σοφίαν λαβέντες Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ ἐκείνου κληθήσονται. . . . Μακάριοι οἱ δι' ἀγάπην Χριστοῦ ἐξελθόντες τῷ κόσμῳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἀγγέλους κρινούσιν, καὶ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καθήσονται, καὶ ἐκ ὁρῶνται ἡμέραν κρίσεως ζωικῆν. ibid. p. 97.

“ they shall see God. Blessed are they who
 “ keep the flesh undefiled, for they shall be
 “ the temples of God. . . . Blessed are they ^{1 Cor. vii.}
 “ who have wives, as though they had none, ^{29.}
 “ for they shall become angels of God. . . .
 “ Blessed are they that receive the wisdom of
 “ Jesus Christ, for they shall be called the
 “ sons of the Highest. . . . Blessed are they ^{Luke vi.}
 “ who for the love of Christ forsake the fash- ^{35.}
 “ ion of this world, for they shall judge an- ^{1 Cor. vii.}
 “ gels, and shall be placed at the right hand ^{31.}
 “ of Christ, and shall not see a severe day of ^{vi. 3.}
 “ judgement.” Mat. v. 7.

In the old *Latin* Version this last sentence
 is divided, as it were, into two. For after the
sitting at the right hand of Christ, or God, it
 is added: “ Blessed (*d*) are the merciful, for
 “ they shall not see a severe day of judge-
 “ ment.” Which is equivalent to those
 words *Matth. v. 7. they shall obtain mercie.*
 And divers other expressions are here put into
 the mouth of *Paul*, which, though different
 from Our Lord’s Beatitudes in *St. Matthew*
 and *St. Luke*, are a plain imitation of them :
 as some of these, which I have here put down,
 are exactly the same.

3. Paul

(*d*) Beati misericordes, quoniam ipsi non videbunt diem
 judicii amarum. p. 121.

3. *Paul* is brought before the *Roman* Governour at *Iconium*, who asks him: " Who
 " are (*e*) you? what do you teach? for
Acts xxiv. " they grievously accuse you. And *Paul*,
 21. *comp.* " lift up his voice, saying: If I this day be
 xxiii. 6. " called in question, what I teach; hear,
 Ch. xvii. " Proconsul: God is jealous, a God of ven-
 25. " geance: God that needeth nothing but the
 " salvation of men has sent me to deliver men
 " from vice and impurity, . . . that they may
 " not sin. Therefore God has sent his son
 ver. 3. " Jesus Christ, whom I preach, and teach
 " men to have their hope in him, who alone
 ver. 30. " has had compassion on an ignorant erring
 31. " world, that they may be no longer exposed
 " to condemnation, o Proconsul, but might
 " have faith, and the fear of God, and a
 " knowledge of virtue, and a love of truth.
 " If therefore I speak those things, which
 " have been revealed to me by God, Procon-
 " sul, what crime am I guilty of? But the
 " Proconsul having heard these things com-
 " manded *Paul* to be bound, and to be cast
 " into prison, till he should be at leisure to
 " hear him more carefully."

I sup-

(e) *Ibid.* p. 101. 102.

I suppose, that here are references, or allusions to several things in the *Acts of the Apostles*: and that in some other places of this work the author refers to other things in the New Testament. But I shall not detain the reader any longer in this book, which really is of no great importance, though Dr. *Grabe* does undoubtedly deserve commendation for publishing it in the greatest perfection he was able.

II. That the SIBYLLINE VERSES, or Oracles, which we now have in eight books, *The Sibylline Oracles.* are not the same which were kept at Rome with so much care and veneration, nor any other Heathen collection of *Sibylline Oracles*, but a Christian forgerie, has been so often, and so clearly shewn, and is so generally allowed by learned men, that I shall here take it for granted. However, I may have another opportunity, in the course of this work, of shewing this particularly, if it should be needfull.

We may take a general account of this collection of pretended Oracles in the words of Mr. *Turner*. “ We there find, *says (f) he*,
“ an account of the creation of the world, the
“ fall of our first parents, the ark of *Noah*,
“ the

(f) *The Calumnies upon the Primitive Christians accounted for.* Chap. xi. p. 201. London, 1727.

“ the deluge of waters, the tower of *Babel*,
 “ and other matters, all undoubtedly taken
 “ from the book of Genesis. The historical
 “ books of the New Testament have also fur-
 “ nished the forger of these Oracles with se-
 “ veral pretended prophecies concerning our
 “ Saviour. The manner of our Lord’s nati-
 “ vity, his life and actions, his tryal and suf-
 “ ferings, his resurrection and ascension, are
 “ described with much plainness and particu-
 “ larity : which makes it more than probable,
 “ that several of those Oracles, relating to our
 “ Blessed Saviour, are not predictions of fu-
 “ ture events, but historical narrations of
 “ facts that were already past and gone. The
 “ author, in order to disguise the imposture,
 “ is somewhat enigmatical in his account of
 “ the Roman Emperours. He describes them
 “ all from *Julius* to *Adrian*, chiefly by the
 “ initial letters of their names.” So far Mr.
Turner. But the author has made use of
 more than one artifice, to disguise the im-
 posture. It may be justly supposed, that with
 this view he inserted in his work several things
 taken (g) from the ancient *Heathen Ora-*
cles,

(g) Sunt nonnulla in hac collectione, quae auctor de in-
 dultia insperfit ex antiquis oraculis Ethnicis, ex Orpheo, Ho-
 mero,

cles, and from *Orpheus*, *Homer*, and other Poets.

I shall add little more preliminarie to my extracts, but to shew when these *Oracles* were composed.

Cave, who is well satisfied (*b*) of their being a forgerie, supposes that a large part of them were composed in the time of *Adrian*, about the year 130, they being quoted by *Justin Martyr*: That others were added in the time of the *Antonines*, and the whole work compleated in the reign of *Commodus*.

Prideaux (*i*) says: " This collection must
" have been made between the year of our
" Lord 138, and the year 167. It could
" not be earlier, for therein is mention made
" of the next successor of *Adrian*, that is,
" *Antoninus Pius*, who did not succeed him
" till the year 138. And it could not be
" later, because *Justin Martyr* in his writings
" several times quotes it, and appeals to it,
" who did not outlive the year 167."

Fabricius (*k*) is of opinion, that this collection

mero, et aliis Poetis. *Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. i. Lib. i. c. 33.*
p. 217. *Vid. et quae sequuntur.*

(*b*) Conficta esse, idque in gratiam Christianae fidei, nemo non videt. *Hist. Lit. P. i. p. 34.*

(*i*) *Connektion &c. Part. 2. book. ix. p. 626. first. ed.*

(*k*) *Bibl. Gr. ut supra, p. 219.—221.*

lection does not contain all the *Sibylline Oracles*, which were used by the ancient Fathers: but that nevertheless it contains a great part of them. He supposes likewise, that several parts of the collection have been transposed, and placed in a wrong order by transcribers. He farther thinks, that the most ancient Christian writers, who have quoted the *Sibylline Oracles*, had not the whole collection which we have, but only a part: which together with additions made afterwards compose the collection, which we have.

These and other observations of *Fabricius* in his judgement upon this collection have a great appearance of probability. We have good reason, I think, to conclude, that our collection contains a great part of the *Sibylline* books used by the Fathers; because it has in it almost all the verses particularly quoted by them, and answers the character, which they give of theirs. *Justin Martyr* toward the end of his *Exhortation to the Greeks* (if that piece be his) says: “The (1) *Sibyl* expressly
“and clearly foretels the coming of our Sa-
“viour Jesus Christ.” And again a little af-
ter.

(1) Τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀφ᾽ ἑνὸς σαφῶς ὡς
καυερῶς προαγορεύουσα. *Ad. Gr. Cohort.* p. 36.

ter. “ That she (*m*) not only expressly and
 “ clearly foretels the future coming of our
 “ Saviour Jesus Christ, but also all things
 “ that should be done by him.” So do ours,
 as will appear presently. Whether that work
 be *Justin's*, as is generally supposed, or not,
 is not very material in this case; it appearing
 from what he says in his (*n*) first Apologie,
 an undisputed work, that he had in his hands
 some *Sibylline* books, which were very fa-
 vorable to the Christian cause. St. *Augustin*
 (*o*) too says, “ that the *Sibyl* has nothing in
 “ her whole poem favorable to the worship
 “ of false Gods, but on the contrarie she so
 “ speaks against them and their worshipers,
 “ that she may be reckoned to belong to the
 “ city of God.”

However some things contained in our
 present collection may have been added to
 those *Sibylline* writings, which were in the
 hands

(*m*) Περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μελλούσης
 ἔσεσθαι παρυσίας, καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι
 μελλόντων, σαφῶς καὶ φανερώς προαναφωνούσῃ. *ib.* p. 37. A.

(*n*) p. 82.

(*o*) Haec autem Sibylla, five Erythraea, five ut quidam
 magis credunt Cumana, ita nihil habet in toto carmine suo,
 cujus exigua ista particula est, quod ad Deorum falsorum five
 fictorum cultum pertineat, quinimo ita etiam contra eos et
 contra cultores eorum loquitur, ut in eorum numero depu-
 tanda videatur, qui pertinent ad civitatem Dei. *De Civ. Dei.*
 L. 18. cap. 23.

hands of the first Fathers. There may be some reason to suspect, that the Acrostich, in particular, has been since added; it being first quoted (*p*) by *Constantin*, and no where clearly referred to by *Justin Martyr*, *Athenagoras*, or *Theophilus*: whereas, had they known of it, it is likely, we should have found in them some hint of it. Nor is there (*q*) any good ground to think, that *Tertullian* has alluded to it, as some have supposed.

I shall make no use therefore of that Acrostich in my extracts here, which ought to be confined to writings of the second centurie. And that the main part of this collection was made within that time, I shall shew briefly in two or three observations.

1. *Justin Martyr* is the first (*c*) Christian writer, who appears to have quoted this collection of *Sibylline Oracles*, or any *Sibylline Verses* whatever, containing the peculiar doctrines of *Christianity*. The more ancient writers preceding him, who have mentioned the *Sibyls*, have quoted nothing, but what might

(*p*) *Ora ad Sanctos. cost. cap. 18. ap. Euf. H. E. p. 592.*

(*q*) See *Mr. Rob. Turner, as before, p. 207. 208. and Fabricius, p. 214.*

(*c*) They are quoted likewise, or referred to by the Anonymous author of the *Preaching of Peter*, who, probably, lived about the same time with *Justin Martyr*. See before ch. 22. note (*F*) p. 537.

might be found in *Sibylline* writings among the *Heathen*. This is an observation of (r) *Fabricius*, to whom I refer for the particular proof of it.

2. *Celsus*, who wrote before the end of the second centurie, gives the Christians the name (s) of *Sibyllists*: and says, “that (t) some of “them had a great value for the *Sibyl*, and “had interpolated her writings with many “blasphemous things.” I shall not need to put down here *Origen*’s answer to this charge, his answer being allowed by (u) many learned men not to be sufficient. *Celsus* then may be reckoned to be a good evidence, that there were in his time *Sibylline* verses, which were more Christian than Heathen.

3. The author betrays his age by several things in this collection. He says at the con-

A a a

clusion

(r) *Fab. Bib. Gr.* l. i. cap. 33. §. xi.

(s) Εἶπε δὲ τινὰς εἶναι καὶ Σιβυλλιστάς. *Orig. c. Cels.* l. 5. p. 272.

(t) Ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ Σιβυλλᾶν, ἣν χρῶνται τινες ὑμῶν, ἐκί-
τας ἂν μᾶλλον προεσήσαδε ὡς τῷ Θεῷ παῖδα· νῦν δὲ πα-
ρεγγράφουσιν μὲν εἰς τὰ ἐκείνης πολλὰ καὶ βλάσφημα ἐκτὴν δύνα-
μει. *ib.* l. 7. p. 368.

(u) *Fabric. Bib. Gr. L.* i. c. 31. §. 13. *Blondel des Si-
bylles.* l. i. ch. xx. p. 86.—88. See also *Du Pin Dissert.*
Praelim. L. 2. c. 7. p. 115. 116. *Amst.* 1701. *Johan.*
Richardsoni Praelectiones Ecclesiasticae. V. i. p. 161. 162.
Jer. Jones New and Full Method Sec. V. i. p. 457.

clusion of the eighth book, that he (*w*) is a *Christian*. In the fifth book he says, he had (*x*) *seen the second ruin of the desired house*, most (*y*) probably meaning the destruction of *Jerusalem* in the time of *Vespasian*. In the begining of the fifth book he describes the Roman Emperours to *Adrian*, and says, that after (*z*) him three shall reign: (that is, *Antonine*, *Marc*, and *Lucius*) and that the third of these shall obtain the power of all things, and in his time shall come the end of the world. This must have been writ before 169, in which year *Lucius* died. He being the youngest, the author guessed he would have the longest reign. But *Marc* survived him, and obtained the power of all, or became sole Emperour.

So this is generally understood. But possibly by the third the author means *Marc*. *Lucius* indeed, while he lived, was the third and last in point of rank and dignity, as well

as

(w) Τ'οὔνεκ' ἄρ' ἡμεῖς καὶ ὅσινις Χριστοῦ γενέθλης
Οὐρανίης πεφυῶτες, ἐπικλεόμεθα σύναιμοι
Μητινὴν εὐφροσύνης ἐπὶ θρησκείῃ κατέχοντες.

(x) Ἐσθῆσαι παρὰ σείο. πάλαι πεπονημένον οἶκον.

Ηνίκα δεύτερον εἶδον ἐγὼ ριπτούμενον οἶκον. L. v. p. 332. *Paris*.

(y) Vid. *Fabr. Bib. Gr.* l. i. c. 32. §. 7. and *Blondel des Sibylles*. l. i. c. iv. p. 12.

(z) Τρεῖς ἄρξουσιν, ὃ δὲ τρίτῳ ἐπὶ κρατήσει πάντων. L. v. p. 304. *Paris*.

(a) T
8. p. 3
(b) T
Πληρ
Μοῖσα
Paris.

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711

as age. But after his death, *Marc* might be spoken of, as the third and last. I suspect, that he is the person here intended. And the author prophesies of his sole empire, after it obtained. If *Marc* is the person, whom the author calls *the third*; then the passages, in which the *universal power* of one of the three is mentioned, were writ after the death of *Lucius* in 169.

He speaks to the like purpose again in the eighth book: That after him who shall take his name from the *Adriatic* Sea, that is *Adrian*, *three (a) shall reign in the last day*, and then comes the end of the world. But first of all *Rome* shall be *(b) destroyed in the 948. year from her foundation*, which is the year of *Christ* 195. The event not answering this prediction, it is reasonable to conclude, that this is only a vain conjecture, delivered before the time here mentioned. It is not easie to suppose, that any one should publish such a false prediction after the time fixed for it's accomplishment.

A a a 2

I for-

(a) Τὸν μετὰ τρεῖς ἄρξουσιν πανύστατον ἡμᾶρ ἔχοντες. L. 8. p. 367. *Paris*.

(b) Τρεῖς δὲ τριανοσίαις καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ Πληρώσεις λυκάσαντας, ὅταν σοι δύσμορος ᾖ ἡ ξη Μοῖρα, βιαζομένη τὸν οὐνομα πληρώσασα. L. 8. p. 375. *Paris*.

I forbear to insist now on the sentiments of the author concerning the *Milennium*, and other matters, which might shew the collection to be ancient, but do not prove it to be writ in the second centurie.

4. These are things, which have been already often urged by learned men in the dispute about the *Sibyls*. I shall add one observation more, though perhaps not very material. The first Christians lay under the calumnie of practising promiscuous lewdnesse, and other crimes, in their assemblies. It has been often supposed, that these calumnies arose from the licentious manners of those called Heretics. *Eusebe* (c) expressly says, that the impurities practised by the *Valentinians* and other heretics gave occasion to the infidel Gentils to reproach the Christian religion, and all Christians in general. But this was not so commonly said by the most early Christian writers, to be the ground of these calumnies. *Justin Martyr* (d) freely owns in his first Apologie, that he did not know, whether those scandalous things, which the true Christians were so commonly charged with, were done by the

(c) H. E. l. iv. c. 7. p. 120. D.

(d) Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ δόσσημα ἐκείνα μυθολογούμενα ἔργα πρῶτον
τοῦσι—οὐ γινώσκωμεν. p. 70. B. C.

(e)
PETS.
(f)
(g)
(h)
μεν τα
P. 37.
(i)
Οὐ
Αλλ
Νήπ
'Οσο
Lib. in
Basl.

the heretics, or not. And says, it (*e*) was the wickedness of the Heathen, which disposed them to believe such things of other people, which they practised themselves. *Tatian* (*f*), and *Theophilus* (*g*) speak of those calumnies, without making the heretics the occasion of them. *Athenagoras* (*b*), as well as *Justin*, says the general wickedness of the Heathen was the reason of their charging the Christians as they did, though they were exemplarily virtuous. Just so the pretended *Sibyl*. The author describing, as I apprehend, the sect of the Christians, writes to this purpose: “Happy (*i*) are those men, who praise the great God before they eat or drink, who shun temples and altars defiled with the blood of four-footed beasts and other animals, and worship the one God: who commit no

A a a 3

“mur-

(*e*) Καὶ τὰ φανερώς ὑμῖν πραττόμενα, . . . ἡμῖν προσγράφετε. p. 71. A.

(*f*) p. 162. D.

(*g*) *Ad Autol. lib. 3.* p. 119. B. C. 126. D. 127. A.

(*b*) Ἀλλ' οἱ τοιοῦτοι (ὥς τί ἂν εἴποιμι τὰ ἀπόρρητα;) αἰοῦσμεν τὰ τῆς παρομιίας, ἢ πόρνη τὴν σώφρονα. κ. λ. *Legat.* p. 37. C. D.

(*i*) . . . Καὶ ἤθεα ἄνδρες ἄλλοι

Οὐ ποτε μιμήσονται, ἀναιδέην ποθέοντες.

Ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς χλεύη τε γελωτί τε μυχθίζοντες,

Νήπιοι ἀρροσύνησιν ἐπιφύσσονται ἐκείνοις,

Ὅσσ' αὐτοὶ ῥέξουσιν ἀτάσθαλα καὶ κακὰ ἔργα.

Lib. iv. p. 287. Paris. 1599. p. 1494. Or: hodoιχογρ. Basl. 1555.

“ murder, nor theft, nor adulterie, nor un-
 “ natural uncleanness : But the rest of the
 “ world will not imitate their virtuous beha-
 “ viour, but will scorn and jeer them, and
 “ falsely impute to them the crimes, which
 “ they commit themselves.” This is all he
 says of that matter, in perfect agreement with
 the forementioned early Ecclesiastical Wri-
 ters.

Having shewn this collection to be for the
 main part a work of the second centurie, we
 are now to observe what use the author ap-
 pears to have made of the Books of the New
 Testament.

1.) In the first book the *Sibyl*, or the au-
 thor under her name, foretells the coming of
Matth. i. Christ in this manner : “ Then (k) shall come
 “ the Son of the great God clothed in flesh,
 “ made like to men on earth. He hath in
 “ his name four vowels and two consonants :”
 That is, he shall be called *IESOUS*, according
 to the *Greek* writing of that name. Here is
 a reference to *Matth. i. 21*. The author says,
Christ shall be clothed in flesh, and made like

to

(k) Δὴ τότε ἡ μεγάλη Θεοῦ παῖς ἀνθρώποις
 ἔξει σαρκόρρετος, διητοις ὁμοούμενος ἐν γῇ.
 Τέσσαρα φωνήεντα φέρει τὰ δὲ ἄζωνα δὺ αὐτῶ. L. i. p.
 184. Paris. p. 1473. Orthodoxogr.

to men on earth. There are so many texts of the New Testament to this purpose, that it is not easie to determine a particular reference to any of them; as *John* i. 14. *Rom.* viii. 3. *Gal.* iv. 15. *Heb.* ii. 17. and many others.

2. Afterwards; “ But (*l*) do you remember [*that this is*] Christ, the Son of the *Matth.* v.
 “ most high eternal God. He will fulfill
 “ the law of God, and not destroy it, bearing a compleat resemblance, and will teach
 “ all things. To him shall come priests, offering gold, and myrrh, and frankincense. *Cl.* ii.
 “ For he will perform all these things. But
 “ when a certain voice shall come in the desert teaching men, and shall call to all to
 “ make strait paths, and to cleanse their
 “ hearts from all wickedness, and to be baptised in water, that being born again, they
 “ may no more practise unrighteousness; a
 “ man of a barbarous disposition shall cut it
 “ off for the reward of a dance by which he
 “ has been ensnared. Then shall suddenly
 “ appear to men a great sign, when a fair
 “ stone shall come safely preserved from
 “ the land of *Egypt*. The *Hebrew* people
 “ shall stumble at him. But the Gentils

A a a 4

“ shali

(*l*) *L. i. Paris. p. 187. Orthod. p. 1474.*

“ shall come to his doctrine, and through
 “ him know the most high God.”

Here is a reference to *Matth.* v. 17. *Think not, that I am come to destroy the Law, or the Prophets : I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill :* and to *Matth.* ii. 11. in what is said of the offering, which should be brought to Christ. It is plain, the author was acquainted with the first two chapters of St. *Matthew*. He afterwards seems to refer to our Saviour's flight into *Egypt*, and his preservation there from the designs of *Herod*, recorded likewise in the second chapter of the same Gospel. He also confirms the historie of *John the Baptist's* preaching and death, which we have in our Gospels.

3.) He presently proceeds to foretell, or relate many of our Saviour's miracles in this manner.

“ And (*m*) then he will heal the diseased
 “ and infirm, all whosoever believe in him.
 “ Then the blind shall see, and the lame
 “ walk, and the deaf hear, and the dumb
 “ speak. He will expel demons, and raise
 “ the dead. He will walk upon the waves,
 “ and in a desert place with five loaves and
 “ sea-fish abundantly satisfy five thousand,
 and

(*m*) *L. i. p. 187. 188. 191. Paris.*

“ and the fragments will fill five baskets for
 “ the chaste virgin.” But the people of *Israel*, he says, will not understand: “ But
 “ will strike him with the hand, and spit
 “ upon him most offensively, and give him
 “ impiously gall for his meat, and vinegar
 “ to drink. But when he shall have
 “ stretched out his hands, and bore a crown
 “ of thorns, and his side has been pierced
 “ with a spear, for his sake there will be the
 “ dismal darknesse of the night for three
 “ hours in the middle of the day. And then
 “ the temple of *Solomon* shall give to men a
 “ great sign, when he shall go down to the
 “ grave, declaring a resurrection for the
 “ dead. Then shall he in three days re-
 “ turn to the light, and shew to men, that
 “ death is but a sleep: And having taught
 “ all things, he will ascend to heaven upon
 “ the clouds.”

We ought to observe here, that where we *Aas. i. 19.*
 read in our collection, *sea-fish*, *Lactantius*
 seems (n) to have had in his copie *two fish*,
 for so it is in his quotation from the *Sibyl*.
 And whereas afterwards in our copies we
 have, *for the chaste virgin*; in *Lactantius* (o)
 it

(n) Καὶ ἰχθύεσσιν δοιοῖσιν. *Lact. Div. Inst. L. 4. c. 15.*
 p 398.

(o) Δώδεκα πληρώσει κοφίνους εἰς ἐλπίδα πολλῶν. *Lact. ibid.*

it is, *for the hope*, or encouragement of many. And much to the same purpose in the eighth book of our collection, where the same miracle is spoken of, it is *for the hope of the people*. I do not stay to enquire the distinct meaning of this writer's obscure expressions. But possibly in those words *for the hope of the people*, or of many, he refers to the great satisfaction the people had in this miracle, which suited their desire and expectation of a temporal kingdom: which is more particularly related by St. *John*, than any other of the Evangelists; insomuch that they were coming to *take him by force, to make him a King*. John vi. 14. 15.

It is not necessarie for me to refer here particularly to the several places of the Gospels, in which all these matters are related. Certainly what I have transcribed is sufficient to satisfy every one, that it is from our Gospels these pretended prophecies are taken. Beside the many miracles of our Saviour, here is an attestation of the wonders and signs attending our Saviour's crucifixion, recorded in our Gospels; as the rending of the vail of the temple, and the three hours darkness. The account of our Saviour's ascension he could not take from St. *Matthew* or St.

St. John, because it is not mentioned by them : but probably from *Mark* xvi. 19. or *Luke* xxiv. 51. and likewise from *Acts* i. 9. where alone is mentioned the cloud, which received him out of their sight.

4.) This author has divers other expressions plainly taken from our Gospels. “ O
 “ blessed (*p*) servants, says he, whom the
 “ Lord, when he comes, shall find watch- *Luke* xii.
 “ ing. Who always watch expecting him
 “ with waking eyes. For he will come in
 “ the morning, or in the evening, or at
 “ noon.” He has here joined the texts of *Mark* xiii.
 two Evangelists, but it was not necessarie for
 him to take the words exactly. *Blessed are*
those servants, whom the Lord, when he com-
eth, shall find watching. *Luke* xii. 37.
Watch ye therefore, for ye know not, when the
master of the house cometh; at even, or at mid-
night, or at the cock crowing, or in the morn-
ing. *Mark* xiii. 35.

5.) And soon after : “ Woe (*q*) to them
 “ who

(*p*) Ω μακάρες Θεραπόντες, ὅσας ἐλθὼν ἀγρυπνῶντας
 εὕροι ὁ δεσπότης τοῖς δ' ἀγρήγορθεν ἅπαντες
 Πάντοτε προσδοκῶντες ἀκοιμήτοις βλεφάροιςιν.
 Ἦξει γὰρ τ' ἡωθὸς, ἢ δείλης, ἢ μέσον ἡμέρας. *L. 2. Paris.*
p. 199. 200. Orib. p. 1476.
 (*q*) Αἱ ὁπόσαι κείνω ἐνὶ ἡματι φορτοφορεῖσαι
 Γαστέρι φραθῶσιν, ὅσαι δὲ τε νήπια τέκνα
 Γαλαδοτοῦσιν, ὅσοι δ' ἐπὶ μύμασι ναιετάουσιν. *L. 2. Pa-*
ris. p. 200. Orib. p. 1476.

“ who are with child in that day, and who
 “ give suck to infants, and that dwell near
 “ the sea.” The two former of these expressions are in *Matth. xxiv. 19. Mark xiii. 17. Luke xxi. 23.* The last woe may be taken from *Rev. xii. 12. Woe to the inhabitants of the earth, and of the sea.*

I shall put down an abstract of some other passages, where he writes of our Saviour, as he has already done, with some additional particulars.

6.) In the sixth book, which is very short, he says: “ I sing the great Son of the eternal, washed in the river *Jordan*, on whom
 “ the gentle spirit descended with the wings
 “ of a white dove.... He will teach men
 “ righteousness: He will walk on the waves,
 “ deliver men from their diseases, and raise
 “ the dead.” The writer then denounces ruin to the *Jews* for having put on him a *crown of thorns*, and giving him *gall to drink*, and crucifying him.

Fabricius (r) ought to be consulted upon the beginning of this book, who has offered
 an

(r) Liber sextus perbrevis, sed in quo clarissime agitur de filii Dei baptismo ad *Jordanem*, et spiritu ei superveniente. Locus corruptus forte ita restituendus.

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an emendation of the ordinarie copies of our collection : and supposeth, that to this place of the *Sibyl Lactantius* had an eye, when he says : *The spirit of God descended upon him in the shape of a white dove* : which ought, I think, to be reckoned an argument of the genuinnesse, or antiquity of this part of our collection, and that it is, in the main, the same which was used by the Fathers. The author took the baptism of our Saviour in *Jordan*, and the descent of the spirit from our Gospels : But the colour of the dove is an invention of his own. A man of his fanſie could easily add a circumstance, for which there was no foundation, and he would make no scruple of so doing. It makes his work a little more poetical.

7.) In the eighth book, near the end, the author expressly names *Marie* the mother of our Lord, and the angel *Gabriel* : relates, or foretells his visit to her, her surprise and joy, and the nativity of our Lord at *Bethlehem* of a virgin mother : All manifestly taken from the first

Εκ πατρὸς ἐκ πρώτῃ πρώτῃ Θεός. ὃ τε καὶ ἡδὺ
Πνεῦμα ἐπιγινόμενον λευκῆς πτερυγέσσι πελέμης.
Ex hoc Sibyllae loco Lactantius L. iv. cap. 15. *Spiritus Dei*
descendit super eum formatus in speciem columbae candidae.
Fabr. ibid. p. 209.

first and second chapters of St. *Matthew*, and the first of St. *Luke*.

8.) He goes on : “ When (s) this child
 “ was born, heaven and earth, and the whole
 “ world rejoyced. The wondrous new star
 “ that appeared was revered by the wise
 “ men. And the child wrapped in swad-
 “ dling cloths was shewn to them in a man-
 “ ner for their obedience to God. *Bethle-*
 “ *hem* the place of the nativity of the Word
 “ is told to neatherds, goatherds, and shep-
 “ herds.” See *Matth.* ii. *Luke* i. ii. St.
Luke speaks only of *shepherds abiding in the*
field, keeping watch over their flocks by night.
 It was easie to add to them the keepers of o-
 ther sorts of cattle.

Matth. ii.
 and *Luke*
 i.

9.) In the same eighth book is the largest
 and most particular account of our Saviour's
 miracles, and the extraordinarie signs at his
 death, of which I shall also give some ac-
 count.

“ He (t) will do all things by his word,
 “ and heal every disease. He will calm the
 “ winds

(s) Καινοφανής δὲ μάγοις σεβάσθην θέσφατὶ ἀσὴρ.
 Σπαργανοθεὶς δὲ βρέφει δείχθην θεοπεθέσι φάτιν.
 Καὶ λόγῳ ἡ Βηθλεὲμ πατρὶς θεοκλήτῳ ἐλέχθην
 Βετελάταις τε καὶ ἀιγονόμοις καὶ ποιμέσιν ἀρνῶν. L. 8. p.
 400. *Paris*.

(t) L. 8. p. 384. 387. 388.

“ winds by a word, and compose the tem-
“ pestuous sea, and by faith walk upon it.
“ He will give his cheek to envenomed spit-
“ tle, and his sacred back to stripes. . . .
“ He will be silent, when smitten on the
“ cheek . . . and will bear a crown of thorns.
“ . . . He will feed with five loaves and two
“ fishes five thousand in a desert place, and
“ the fragments taken up will fill twelve
“ baskets for the hope of the people. And
“ he will pronounce the souls blessed, that
“ when derided return good for evil, who
“ are beaten, whipped and endure poverty.
“ Knowing all things, seeing and hearing
“ all things, he will lay open the breasts of
“ men. . . . He who raised the dead, and
“ healed all manner of diseases, will at last
“ come into the hands of wicked and infi-
“ del men. And with impure hands they
“ will strike God, and give him gall for his
“ meat, and vinegar to drink. The vail of
“ the temple will be rent, and at midday
“ be the horrid darkneſſe of the night for
“ three hours.” He then ſays, he will be
three days in the grave, and return to the
light: “ and will be the firſt who ſhall
“ ſhew to the called the begining of the re-
“ ſurrection. . . . Then the Lord will firſt of
“ all

“ all appear to his own in the body, as he
 “ was before, and shew the four marks im-
 “ printed in his hands and his feet.”

*Sum of this
 testimonie.*

10.) These things must be reckoned a confirmation of our Gospels, and satisfy us, that they were books used by Christian people, as containing an authentic historie of Jesus Christ; his birth, preaching, miracles, sufferings, and resurrection.

The author has borrowed very little from the Epistles. But he may be supposed indebted to the book of the *Revelation* for several things. However I shall not transcribe any thing of that kind. I content myself with having shewn a constant respect to our Gospels in these pretended predictions concerning Christ.

*Antiquity
 of these
 oracles.*

11.) But many of these things being so plainly taken from the books of the New Testament, perhaps some may suspect, our present collection of *Sibylline Oracles* not to be genuine; that is, the same, which was used by the ancient Fathers: For, how could any men take these for ancient predictions of the *Sibyl*, writ before our Saviour's coming?

To which I answer, that the general character of the *Sibylline Oracles* before taken from

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from the Fathers, gave us ground to expect as much. And a good part of these oracles, some of the plainest and most particular, those taken above from the eighth book of our collection, are still extant in (u) *Lactantius*, who flourished at the end of the third, and the beginning of the fourth centurie, quoted by him from the *Sibyl* in the original *Greek*. As it may be a satisfaction to some, I shall place in the margin a valuable passage of (w) *St. Augustin*, in which he gives at

B b b

once

(u) *Vid. in primis* l. iv. c. 15. p. 397. 398. 399. et c. 18. p. 417. 419.

(w) *Inferit etiam Lactantius operi suo quaedam de Christo vaticinia Sibyllae, quamvis non exprimat cujus. Sed quae singillatim ipse posuit, ego arbitatus sum conjunctim esse ponenda, tanquam unum sit prolixum [carmen] quae ille plura comemoravit et brevia.*

In manus iniquas, inquit, infidelium postea veniet, et dabunt Deo alapas manibus incestis, et impurato ore expuent venenatos sputus. Dabit vero ad verbera simpliciter sanctum dorsum.

Et colaphos accipiens tacebit, ne quis agnoscat. quod verbum, vel unde venit ut inferis loquatur, et corona spinea coronabitur.

Ad cibum autem fel, et ad sitim acetum dederunt, inhospitalitatis hanc monstrabunt mensam.

Ipsa enim inspiens gens tuum Deum non intellexisti ludentem mortalium mentibus, sed et spinis coronasti, et horridum fel miscuisti.

Templi vero velum scindetur, et medio die nox erit tenebrosa nimis in tribus horis.

Et morte morietur tribus diebus somno suscepto, et tunc ab inferis regressus ad lucem laetam veniet primus, resurrectionis principio vocatis ostenso. Ita Lactantius carptim per intervalla disputationis suae, sicut ea poscere videbantur quae
probare

once a summarie account (though it is not compleat) of the testimonies alleged by *Lactantius* from the *Sibyl*. And that the *Sibylline* books quoted by the ancient Christian writers contained plain and full testimonies to the Christian sentiments, may be concluded from the exceptions made to them all along by the Heathen, as not being a genuine production of the ancient *Sibyl*. We have already taken notice of the passages of *Celsus*, preserved in *Origen*. We have likewise observed in (B) another place from *St. Clement* of *Alexandria*, that these Oracles were not then received by the Heathen people.

Lactantius also, *Constantin* (x), *St. (y)* *Augustin*, and others, are witnesses of this exception being made by the Heathens of their times. I shall translate only a short passage

probare intenderat, adhibuit testimonia Sibyllina, quae nos, nihil interponentes, sed in unam feriem connexa ponentes, foliis capitibus distinguenda curavimus. *Aug. De C. Dei*. l. 18. c. 23. *Vid. Fabricius, ubi supra, p. 227.*

(B) P. 545. 546.

(x) *Ad sanctorum coetum. cap. 19.*

(y) Nisi forte quis dixerit illas prophetias Christianos finxisse de Christo, quae Sibyllae nomine, vel aliorum proferuntur. *Aug. de Civ. Dei*. l. 18. c. 46. Sed quaecunque aliorum prophetia de Dei per Christum Jesum gratia proferuntur, possunt putari a Christianis esse confictae. Ideo nihil est firmitus ad convincendos quoslibet alienos, si de hac re contenderint, nostrosque fulciendos, si recte sapuerint, quam ut divina praedicta ea proferantur, quae in Judaeorum scripta sunt codicibus. *ib. c. 47.*

passage of *Lactantius*. Having quoted the same oracles, before translated by me from the eighth book of our collection, representing Christ doing all things by his word, healing diseases, calming the winds and the seas, feeding five thousand in the desert, and other miracles, he presently adds: "Confuted (x) by these testimonies, some are wont to take refuge by saying, that those are not *Sibylline Oracles*, but forged and composed by our people." He expected, that this objection would be made to his quotations. And he knew it to have been made before. *They are wont*, he says, to betake themselves to this refuge.

These things are well known to the learned. I mention them only for the sake of those of my readers, who need information, and may be glad of it.

Mr. *Whiston*, who (a) asserts, that *The present copie of the Sibylline Oracles, as they are now extant, in eight entire books, is not, in general, the same with that which was extant before, and at the first times of Christianity,*

B b b 2

(x) His testimoniis quidam revicti, solent eo confugere, ut aiant, non esse illa carmina Sibyllina, sed a nostris confecta, atque composita. *Lact. L. iv. c. 15.*

(a) *A Vindication of the Sibylline Oracles. p. 36.*

anity, but very different from it, says (b) likewise: *The present spurious additions to the genuine Sibylline Oracles may be in some measure traced up to the middle of the second centurie itself.* This is granting all we want at present.

We have then probable evidence, that the whole, or a large part of our present collection, was in being in the second centurie: and certain evidence from *Lactantius*, of it's being composed before the end of the third centurie.

Conclud-
ing remark
upon these
Oracles.

12.) Whatever was the particular view of the author in composing this work, and however improperly some ancient writers have produced testimonies from it in their defenses of the *Christian Religion*; it is now of use to us, as it affords an argument, that our Gospels were extant, and in much repute in the author's time. He is to be blamed for assuming the character of a *Sibyl*. However, intending to compose a work in a prophetic stile, and therein to represent, among other things, many particulars relating to Our Saviour and his doctrine; he takes for his guides the historical books of the New Testament,

(b) *ib.* p. 49.

tament, and follows them throughout, with very little variation; excepting only what was needful, or agreeable, when they were to be turned into verse. And if he had been pleased to write a pretended prophetic, describing enigmatically the several books of the New Testament received in his time, as he has described the Roman Emperours from *Julius Caesar* to *Adrian*, it might be very acceptable.

III. There is also a book called THE TESTAMENT OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS, *the sons of Jacob, delivered to their sons*: in which those Patriarchs are introduced speaking their last dying words, containing predictions of things future, and rules of virtue and piety: which they deliver to their sons as a choice treasure, to be carefully preserved, and to be delivered by them to their children.

The Testaments of the xii. Patriarchs.

There have been long since several editions of these *Testaments* in *Latin*. But *Grabe* (c) first published them in *Greek* from (d) some manuscripts in our Universities, and from his edition they have been re-published by

B b b 3

Fabricius

(c) *Spicileg. Patr. T. i. p. 129.*

(d) *Vid. ibid. p. 144. 336.*

(e) *Fabricius*. Since which (f) Mr. *Whiston* has given the public (A) an *English* Translation of them.

Cave in the first part (g) of his *Historia Litteraria* places the Anonymous author of this book at the year 192. But in the second part of (h) that work he appears inclined to think, he wrote nearer the beginning of the second centurie. It is generally concluded, that these Testaments were composed before the time of *Origen*; because he quotes a book with that title in one of his Homilies upon the book of *Joshua*, which we now have only in a *Latin* Version. "We" (i) find also, *says he*, the like sentiment in "a little book called the Testament of the" "Twelve Patriarchs, though it is not in the" "canon." It has been thought, that this book was cited by *Origen* more than once.

But

(e) *Cod. Pseudepigr. V. T.* 1713. p. 496.

(f) *Authentic Records.* P. i. p. 294. &c.

(A) I have made considerable use of that translation in my extracts, though I do not always follow it exactly.

(g) p. 52.

(h) p. 29.

(i) Sed et in alio quodam libello, qui appellatur Testamentum Duodecim Patriarcharum, quamvis non habeatur in canone, talem tamen quendam sensum invenimus, quod per singulos peccantes singuli Satanae intelligi debeant. *Homil. xx. in Josuam. sub fin. Confer Testamentum Ruben. §. 3.*

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But *Grabe* (k) has shewn this to be the only quotation of it in that Father. And there are scarce two or three (l) other quotations of this work in all the Christian writers for the space of seven or eight hundred years. *Jerome* seems to intend it among others, when he says, *there* (m) *had been forged Revelations of all the Patriarchs and Prophets.*

Cave (n) thinks it not unlikely, that the author was a *Judaizing Christian*. *Dodwell* was of the same opinion, as we are assured by (o) *Grabe*. But he supposed them composed before the end of the first centurie. *Grabe* thinks (p) rather, that they were writ by some *Jew* before our Saviour's coming, and were afterwards interpolated in some

B b b 4

places

(k) *Spicileg. ib.* p. 131: 132.

(l) *Vid. Grabe ib.* p. 134. &c. 335. 336. *Mr. Whiston's Authen. Records.* V. i. p. 439.—441.

(m) Et si tibi placuerit, legito fiktas Revelationes omnium Patriarcharum et Prophetarum. *Adv. Vigilantium. Hieron. op.* T. iv. P. 2. p. 284.

(n) *Judaeus*, an *Christianus* fuerit auctor, haud liquido constat; *Judaizans forte Christianus*, quales isto aevo non pauci extiterunt. *Hist. Lit.* P. 1. p. 52. Quin opus sit cujusdam *Judaizantis Christiani* dubitari nequit, cum omni fere pagina Inepte satis aliquid de Christo ingerit. *Hist. L.* P. 2. p. 29.

(o) *Spicil. ib.* p. 132. 133.

(p) Atque haec fere sunt, quae cuipiam persuadere possent, Testamenta xii. Patriarcharum a *Judaeo* ante Christum natum literis consignata, posthaec autem a *Christiano* hinc inde interpolata esse. *ib.* p. 140.

places by a Christian. But Mr. (q) *Whiston* asserts, that *the Testaments of the xii Patriarchs are really genuine, and one of the sacred Apocryphal, or concealed books of the Old Testament.*

Grabe supposes, that this book was writ in *Hebrew*. But of this there is no credible testimonie. For that learned man does not (r) relye upon the storie, that it was translated into *Greek* by St. *Chrysostom*. I think it might be writ in *Greek*, though the author was a *Jew*.

I do not very well know what *Cave* means, when he says, this book was writ by a *Judaizing Christian*. If thereby he means only a *Jew* converted to *Christianity*, I am not unwilling to assent to him, though I do not look upon that as a clear point. But if he means an imperfect Christian, or one who joins the Law with the Gospel, as necessarie to mens acceptance with God, I see no signs of it in this work. For here is very frequent mention of the share, which the Gentils should have in the salvation by the *Messiah*, without any hints of their complying with the

(q) *Authentic Records*. p. 419.

(r) *Vid. Spicileg.* p. 143.

the law of *Moses*. The dispersion and captivity of the *Jews*, as punishments of their unrighteous treatment of Christ, are much insisted upon. And *St. Paul's* is a favorite character in this book, who is supposed to have been quite rejected by those Christians that judaised. I shall have occasion to take passages enough to set this matter in a full light.

Henry Wharton, who thought (s) this work an imposture, and that the author was a Christian, is not positive that he was a *Jew*.

Beausobre in his late learned (t) work, *The Critical Historie of Mani and Manicheism*, delivers his judgement on this book and the author after this manner; That it was forged at the end of the first, or the beginning of the second centurie, by some *Christian* converted from *Judaism*: and he suspects that the author of the xii Testaments was an *Ebionite*, and that he believed Jesus to be the son of *Joseph* and *Marie*; one of the tribe of *Judah*, and the other of the tribe of *Levi*, which he thought

(s) Christianum fuisse compertum est. . . . Sectam quidem Judaicam prae se fert impostor, ut exinde Judaeis fucum pia fraude faciat, . . . *Auctarium Usserii de Scripturis et sacris Vernaculis*. Cap. ii. p. 321. 322.

(t) *L. ii. ch. 2. §. v. T. 1. p. 354. 355.*

thought necessarie to entitle him to the Priesthood and the Kingdom. It is true, *says he*, that the titles of *God* and the *Great God*, which are given to Christ in this book, are not agreeable to the stile, nor the faith of the *Ebionites*. But it can hardly be doubted, that they have been added by the *Greek* translator: for there is good reason to believe, that the original was *Hebrew*.

I have spoken already to several of these points. But I do not see, how it is consistent with *Ebionitism* to speak of St. *Paul*, as this writer does, not to mention other things. Whether the author thought *Jesus* to be the son of *Joseph* and *Marie*, may be questioned. The following extracts may be of use to clear up this difficulty. I see no good reason to think, that the titles of *God* and *Great God*, given to Christ, have been interpolated. The work is all of a-piece, and the same stile runs through the several Testaments. But yet it may be questioned, whether the author did not so far agree with the *Ebionites*, as to be an Unitarian. I shall put down likewise passages enough of this book concerning our Lord's Deity and Humanity, or the presence of the Divine Being with the *Messiah*,

to

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to enable every one to judge of this matter. And if in these places the author appears an Unitarian, there will be the less reason to suppose them interpolations.

It appears to me very evident, that these *Testaments* are not the real last words of the Twelve Patriarchs. The clear knowledge of Christian affairs and principles shew this book to have been written, or else very much interpolated, after the publication of the Christian Religion. But setting aside for the present the consideration of that matter, if these Testaments are not really genuine, they are an imposture. Some apocryphal books of the *Jews* might be writ after those in their canon, without being liable to such a charge. But these are genuine, or they are forged with a view of imposing on mankind. For the author frequently alludes to the books of the *Jewish* canon, or takes thence expressions and passages, without ever acknowledging it. And the better to support the character of that early age, the time of these Patriarchs, though he knows every thing in the Old Testament, as well as they who have that whole volume before them, he quotes only *the Scripture of Enoch, the Tables*

bles of Heaven, (if (*u*) thereby he means any book at all) and *the* (*x*) *Scripture of our Fathers*; intending probably the forementioned scripture, or prophecie of *Enoch*.

I shall give some instances of this proceeding. *Testament of Zabulon* §. iii. “ For
 “ which cause it was writen in the scripture
 “ of the law of *Enoch*, that he who will
 “ not raise up seed to his brother, his shoe
 “ shall be loosed, and they shall spit in his
 “ face.” Which expressions seem to be taken from *Deut.* xxv. 7. 8. 9. *Levi* §. xviii.
 “ The Lord will raise up a new Priest, to
 “ whom all the words of the Lord shall be
 “ revealed, and he shall make the judgement of truth in the fulnesse of days...
 “ and the earth shall be glad, and the
 “ clouds shall rejoyce, and the knowledge of
 “ the Lord shall be poured out upon the
 “ earth, as the water of the seas.” These things appear to me plainly borrowed from *Jf.* xi. 2—9. See also *Habak.* ii. 14. *Reuben* says §. i. “ I drank no wine, nor strong
 “ drink, and no flesh came within my
 “ mouth. I tasted not any pleasant bread,
 “ but

(*u*) *Vid. Grabe Spicileg. T. i. p. 338* &c. *Fabric. Cod. Pseudepigr. V. T. p. 559.* and *Mr. Whiston's Collection of authentic records.* Vol i. p. 293.

(*x*) Ἐγνων ἐν γραφῇ πατέρων μου. *Zabulon. Test. §. ix.*

“ but mourned for my sin.” Which are the words of *Daniel* a little transposed, according to the custom of allusions or loose quotations. See *Daniel* Ch. x. 2. 3. *Judah* §. xxiv. “ And a man shall be raised up of thy seed, as a sun of righteousness.” *Zabulon* §. ix. “ And after these things, the Lord himself, the light of righteousness will arise to you, and there will be healing and commiseration under his wings.” Which expressions, and characters of the *Messiah*, are plainly taken from *Malachi* iv. 2. In the Testament of *Judah*. §. xxiv. the *Messiah* is spoken of as the *Branch of the Most High God*, as in *Zacharias* iii. 8. vi. 12.

And when the author delivers somewhat very unlikely to be known, but from the books of the Old Testament; that he may the better prevent the suspicion of his borrowing from them, he usually takes care to mention particularly the prophetic of *Enoch*, or some such writing. Thus *Test. Naphtali*. §. iv. “ I say this, my sons, because I know by the holy scripture of *Enoch*, that you will yourselves also depart from the Lord.” And *Levi* §. x. “ For the house which the Lord will choose shall be called *Jerusalem*,

“ *lem*, as is contained in the book of *Enoch*
 “ the righteous.” This is more than *Moses*
 appears to have known. And it is very un-
 likely, that *Levi* should be acquainted so
 long beforehand with the name of the place
 which God would choose. The author un-
 doubtedly knew this the same way that we
 do. But the better to blind the eyes of men,
Levi is made to say, that this is *contained in*
the book of Enoch.

Indeed Mr. *Whiston* (y) says: “ Though
 “ it be usually taken for granted, that the
 “ author of these Testaments wrote after the
 “ known books of the Old and New Testa-
 “ ment, and so took these notions and lan-
 “ guage thence; yet since all the real evi-
 “ dence is on the other side, that these Tes-
 “ taments are the eldest, it is most reasonable
 “ to suppose, that the writers of the Old and
 “ New Testament did, *vice versa*, allude to
 “ these Testaments of the xii Patriarchs.”

How can any man say this, that *all the real*
evidence is on the other side! Not to insist now
 on the New Testament: How can any man
 say this with regard to the Old. Are there
 as many ancient testimonies to these Testa-
 ments of the xii Patriarchs, that they were
 writ

writ before the coming of Christ, as there are to the books of the *Jewish* canon? There is no evidence of that early age, worth considering, beside the pretensions of the book itself: which are of little moment, unless they were better supported by external evidence, than they are.

Again, Mr. *Whiston* (x) says: "Nor are
" the particulars thus declared, especially
" those in the Testament of *Levi*, at all
" unworthie either of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, or
" *Jacob*: nor indeed at all inferior, in their
" importance, to any parallel parts of the
" Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testa-
" ment." I perceive nothing of importance
in this observation. All this is very likely,
upon the common supposition of learned
men, that this book was composed after the
coming of Christ. A man acquainted with
all the revelations of God in the Old Testa-
ment may well write some things not un-
worthie of those three ancient Patriarchs:
and may rehearse, if he thinks fit, in a pro-
phetical stile every thing contained in the
canonical scriptures of the Old Testament,
and put it in the mouth of whom he pleases.
A man instructed in the Gospel Revelation
may

(x) *Ibid.* p. 412.

may easily write in the like manner. And if he should take advantage from later events and discoveries, and should cloth all his knowledge of facts and principles in prophetic language; he may declare things, which those holy men never knew; such things, as many Prophets and righteous men desired indeed to see, but did not see them, and to hear, but did not hear them.

But though here are many things not unworthie of those Patriarchs, and a knowledge of future events vastly beyond what they really had, and several (a) fine passages, which it would be a pleasure to me to transcribe, if I had room; yet here are also some things (b) unsuitable to the solemnity of a dying hour, and dying admonitions: particularly in the Testament of *Joseph*, whom we know to have been a wise and excellent man, there are some things not (c) altogether becoming the gravity of that Patriarch. However, this is not mentioned, as a matter of any great consequence. For I do not suppose, that the virtue of any of those ancient

(a) See the Testament of *Gad*. §. iv. *Asher*. §. ii.

(b) *Reuben* §. iii. *Judah*. §. xii.

(c) *Joseph* §. ix.

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cient *Hebrews* was compleat, according to the Christian rule.

Upon the whole, I see nothing in this work, but what might be writ by a learned *Jew* of the second centurie, or later: though whether the author was a *Jew*, or a *Gentil*, I cannot say. I think he was a *Christian*, and well versed in the *Jewish* learning. Nor do I pretend to determine the age of the Anonymous author of the xii Testaments. I am of opinion however, that he is placed early enough by *Cave* in the first part of his *Historia Literaria*, at the year 192.

As I do not intend to take any farther notice of this book in any other part of this work, if I can avoid it; I shall now transcribe, beside allusions to the books of the New Testament, several passages relating to some material facts of the Gospel Historie; and likewise concerning our Blessed Lord, the promised *Messiah*; containing this author's character of his person, and description of his circumstances in this world. If any are pleased to consider them, as real prophecies of the *Messiah*, delivered before his coming; they will be a confirmation of the Christian Religion, so far as our Lord answered those propheticall characters. Take them to be re-

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presenta-

presentations of things already done, composed afterwards in a prophetical stile; and they shew the belief and sentiments of Christians, of some at least.

1. *The Testament of Simeon* §. vii. "For
 " (d) the Lord shall raise up out of *Levi*
 " an High Priest, and out of *Judab* a King,
 " God and man. So he will save all the
 " Gentils, and the stock of *Israel*."

By the *High Priest* may be intended *John the Baptist*, who was of the tribe of *Levi*, and of the race of the *Jewish Priests*. *Luke* i. The *King out of Judab* is plainly our Blessed Saviour. So this place is understood by Mr. *Whiston*. Some (e) other learned men think, the *High Priest out of Levi*, and the *King out of Judab*, to be one and the same person, *Jesus the Messiah*, in whom the Priesthood and the Kingdom were united: and that it was this author's opinion, that *Jesus* was of the tribe of *Levi* by *Marie*, and of the tribe of *Judab* by *Joseph*. I cannot determine, what is the intention of this passage: though I rather incline to the sense last mentioned,

fo

(d) Ἀναστήσει γὰρ κύριος ἐκ τοῦ Λευὶ ἀρχιερεῖα, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰούδα βασιλεία, Θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον.

(e) Vid. Henric. Wharton. Auctar. Ufferii. p. 322. Deausobre Histoire de Manichée. l. 2. Ch. 2. §. v.

so far as to think one person only is spoken of. And there are several other passages, that may induce us to suppose the author reckoned the *Messiah* to be of both these tribes. But yet I think it does not follow, that he believed Jesus to be the son of *Joseph* and *Marie*. For he might suppose him to be of the tribe of *Levi* by his mother *Marie*, and of the tribe of *Judah* by his legal and reputed father *Joseph*.

2. *Gad* §. viii. “ But do you yourselves
“ tell this to your sons, that they are to ho-
“ nor *Judah* and *Levi*: for out of them
“ the Lord will arise to you, a Saviour to
“ *Israel*.” See to the like purpose *Test.* of
“ *Dan* §. v.

3. *Joseph* §. xix. “ Do you therefore, my
“ sons, keep the commandments of the Lord,
“ and honor *Judah* and *Levi*: For out of
“ them shall arise to you the Lamb of God,
“ by grace saving all the Gentils and *Israel*.”

I shall put in the margin (*f*) a passage,
supposed to be *Origen*'s. The learned reader

C c c 2

will

(*f*) Πλὴν ἐκ τῶ δῆμος πατρὸς αὐτῶν ἔσονται γυναῖκες.]
Προσάττει ἐν ὁ θεός, πλὴν τῆς ἰούδα καὶ τῆς λευί, μὴ ἐξῆναι
ἀπὸ φυλῆς εἰς φυλὴν συνάπτεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ ξένον τὸ σωτῆρ
δειχθῇ ἀναθὲν ἐρχόμενον, τὸ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς κατὰ τὴν τά-
ξιν μελχισηδέκ. *Orig. Select. in Num.* xxxvi. 6. T. 2. p.
274. F. Ed. Bened.

will be pleased to consider, whether it serves to give light to these, or any other passages of our *Testaments*.

4. *Levi* §. ii. *Levi* says, he had been told by an angel: "For thou shalt stand near to
" the Lord, and shalt be his minister, and
" thou shalt declare his mysteries to men,
" and shalt preach concerning the future re-
" demption of *Israel*: [*This may be John*
" *the Baptist*.] and by thee and *Judah* the
" Lord shall be seen among men, saving by
" them [*that is by John the Baptist and*
" *Christ*] all mankind."

If here is no reference to *John the Baptist*, but only to Our Saviour, the author may be supposed to say, that God would save mankind by those two tribes, inasmuch as the *Messiah* would be of both of them, or some way in a more especial manner allied to them. However, it does by no means appear plain to me, that the writer believed Jesus Christ to be born of *Joseph* and *Marie*. The expressions are ambiguous, and capable of other senses, and therefore the meaning of them must be doubtful. Perhaps one reason of insisting so much on these two tribes was, because at the time of the coming of the *Messiah* the land of *Judea* was
chiefly

chiefly inhabited by them, together with the tribe of *Benjamin*. It is observable, that in the Old Testament the interests of the familie of *David*, (out of which the *Messiah* was to arise,) and the tribe of *Levi*, are closely connected. *Jer.* xxxiii. 20. 21. 22. Nay it may be questioned, whether this author does not mean *Marie* by the (B) *Virgin born of Judah*, in a place to be produced hereafter. In the mean time I put down in the margin some (c) other passages, which may be of use in this enquiry.

C c c 3

5. *Levi*

(B) See numb. 38.

(c) *Testament of Reuben* §. vi. "For the Lord has given the principality to *Levi* and to *Judah*." *Levi* is preferred to *Judah*, *Test. Isachar* §. v. *Dan*. §. v. And in *Judah* §. xxi. are these words: "And now my sons love *Levi* for the Lord has given the kingdom to me, and to him the priesthood, and has subjected the kingdom to the priesthood. To me he has given the things on the earth, to him the things in heaven. As heaven is superior to the earth, so is the priesthood of God superior to the earthly kingdom. [or kingdom upon earth.]" In *Judah* §. xxv. *Levi* is preferred to *Judah*. Once more *Naphtali* §. v. "For in the fortieth year of my life I saw in a dream, in the mountains of *Oliues*, on the East of *Jerusalem*, [By the way, this is not likely to have been spoken by *Naphtali*] that the sun and the moon stood still. And behold, *Isaac*, my father's father said to us: Run every one of you, and catch them according to your abilities, and the sun and the moon shall be to him that catcheth them. And we all ran together, and *Levi* caught the sun, and *Judah* made haste and caught the moon. And *Levi* appeared as the sun, . . . *Judah* was splendid as the moon." If this preference be given by the writer to the tribe of *Levi* above that

5. *Levi* §. iv. The angel proceeds in his discoveries to *Levi*. “ Know ye therefore, “ that the Lord will execute judgement up- “ on the sons of men, when the rocks shall “ be rent, and the sun be extinguished, and “ the waters be dryed up, and the fire shall “ make a trembling, and the invisible spirits “ shall melt away, and hades (g) be de- “ spoiled at the passion of the Most High, “ and men shall still be unbelieving, and “ continue in their unrighteousnesse. For “ this reason shall they be adjudged to pu- “ nishment.”

Surely here is a reference to *Matth.* xxvii. 51.—53. and to the following conduct of the unbelieving *Jews*, as described in the New Testament. The author mentions some things, not particularly related in the Gospels, *the drying up of waters, and the trem-*

that of *Judab*, upon account of *Christ*'s birth of *Mari*e, whom he supposed to be of the tribe of *Levi*, to which tribe therefore heavenly things appertained; it is an argument, that he did not suppose *Joseph*, who was certainly of the tribe of *Judab*, to be the real father of *Christ*. For, if so, *Judab* would have been at least equal to *Levi*. I would just observe, that whatever is the design of this preference of *Levi*, the author supposes the eternal kingdom to belong to *Judab*. *Testament of Judab* §. xxii. and in *Levi* §. viii. it is said: *A King shall be raised out of Judab, and shall ordain a new priesthood.*

(g) Καὶ τοῦ ᾧδε σκιδνομήνε ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει τῷ ὑψίστῳ.

trembling of the fire : but such things may be well supposed concomitants of an earthquake, and an *extinction*, or extraordinarie eclipse of the sun.

6. *Levi* §. iv. The angel presently adds :
 “ Thou shalt be a luminarie to illuminate
 “ the posterity of *Jacob*. . . . until the Lord
 “ visit all the Gentils in the bowels of his
 “ Son for ever. However, thy sons (*b*) will
 “ lay hands upon him to crucify him.”

This is not a real prophecie, that the *Jewish* Priests would be the chief instruments of the crucifixion of the *Messiah*, before the manifestation of God’s gracious purposes to the Gentil world : but it is a just and true representation of matters of fact.

7. *Levi* §. x. Beside other things relating to the Gospel Dispensation, *Levi* says to his sons : “ I am innocent of all your impiety
 “ and transgression, which you will be guilty of in the consummation of the ages, in
 “ dealing impiously with the Saviour of the
 “ world. . . . And you will transgress together with *Israel*, insomuch that *Jerusalem*
 “ will not be able to support itself be-

C c c 4

“ fore

(*b*) Πλήν οἱ υἱοὶ 'σε ἐπιβαλοῦσι χεῖρας ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοῦ ἀποσκολοπίσαι αὐτόν.

“ fore the face of your wickednesse. Nay
 “ the veil of the temple will be rent, and
 “ will not cover your shame. And you
 “ shall be scattered among the Gentils, and
 “ you shall be for a reproch, and a curse,
 “ and a conculcation.”

This is no real prophecie, at leſt not delivered before the building of *Jerusalem*, as is pretended, but probably written after the destruction of it by *Titus*. Nor is the composer of this book, whenever he lived, a judaifer.

8. *Levi* §. xiv. Still *Levi* ſays: “ And
 “ now, my ſons, I know from the ſcrip-
 “ ture of *Enoch*, that in the end you will
 “ act impiouſly, laying hands upon the Lord
 “ in all wickedneſſe. And your brethren
 “ will be aſhamed of you, and you will be
 “ a deriſion to all the Gentils. But our fa-
 “ ther *Israel* (i) is pure from the impiety of
 “ the High Priests, who will lay their hands
 “ upon the Saviour of the world.” At §.
 xv. he declares, *for theſe cauſes that very*
temple which the Lord ſhall chooſe ſhall become
deſolate.

9. I

(i) Καθαρός ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσεβείας τῶν ἀρχιερέων, οἵτινες ἐπιβαλεῖ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν σωτῆρα τοῦ κόσμου.

9. I shall take one passage more, representing strongly the state of the *Jews* and the Gentils under the *Messiah* : *Levi* §. xviii.

“ And under his priesthood the Gentils shall
“ be multiplied in knowledge upon the earth,
“ and shall be illuminated by the grace of
“ the Lord. But *Israel* shall be made little
“ by their ignorance, and shall be darkened
“ by their sorrow.”

The character of the *Messiah*, together with some other matters, is represented in the following passages.

10. *Levi* §. xviii. “ And then will the
“ Lord raise up a new Priest, to whom all
“ the words of the Lord will be revealed.
“ And he shall make the judgement of truth
“ upon the earth in the fullness of days.
“ And his star shall arise in heaven as a King,
“ affording light, the light of knowledge
“ above the sun in the day time : and he
“ shall be magnified in the whole world, un-
“ till his assumption.”

Here seems to be a reference to *Matth.* ii. 2. as well as a general description of our Lord's ministrie.

11. *Levi* §. xviii. “ The heavens shall
“ be opened, and out of the temple of glo-
“ rie shall the sanctification come upon him
“ with

“ with the voice of the Father, as [*it came*]
 “ unto *Abraham* the father of *Isaac*.” See
Matth. iii. 16. 17.

Numb.

xxiv. 17.

Mal. iv. 2.

12. *Judah* §. xxiv. “ And after this,
 “ says *Judah* to his sons, a star shall arise to
 “ you out of *Jacob*, in peace: and a man
 “ shall be raised up out of thy seed, as a sun
 “ of righteousness, conversing with the sons
 “ of men in meekness and righteousness,
 “ and no sin shall be found in him. And
 “ the heaven shall be opened upon him, to
 “ pour out the spirit, the blessing of his
 “ Holy Father. And he himself shall pour
 “ the spirit of grace upon you, and ye shall
 “ be to him sons in truth.” See again
Matth. iii. 16. 17. and *Acts* ii.

Mal. iv.

2.

13. *Zabulon* §. ix. “ And (*k*) after these
 “ things * the Lord himself, the light of
 “ righteousness, will arise to you, and there
 “ will be healing and commiseration under
 “ his wings. He himself will redeem all
 “ the captivity of the sons of men from *Be-*
 “ *liar*. And every spirit of error shall be
 “ trodden down. And he shall convert all
 “ the

(*k*) Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνατελεῖ ὑμῖν αὐτὸς κύριος ὡς δικαιο-
 σύνης.

* Or, The Lord himself will raise up the light of righte-
 ousness. So Mr. Whiston.

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“ the Gentils to have a zeal for him, and
 “ ye (l) shall see God in the form of man,
 “ in *Jerusalem*, which the Lord will so
 “ name. And again you will provoke him
 “ to anger with the wickednesse of your
 “ words, and ye shall be cast away, till the
 “ time of the consummation.”

14. *Naphtali* §. viii. “ Do you therefore
 “ also charge your sons, that they be united
 “ to *Levi*, and to *Judab*: for through *Ju-*
 “ *dab* shall salvation arise to *Israel*, and in
 “ him shall *Jacob* be blessed. For by his
 “ (m) tribe [or *sceptre*] shall God appear in-
 “ habiting among men upon the earth, to
 “ save the stock of *Israel*. And he will ga-
 “ ther together the righteous of the Gen-
 “ tils.”

15. *Benjamin* §. x. “ Then shall we al-
 “ so rise again, every one upon our *sceptre*,
 “ adoring (n) the King of the heavens, who
 “ appeared upon earth in the form of man’s
 “ humiliation. [or, *in the form of a man of*
 “ *humiliation.*] And as many as have be-
 “ lieved on him upon earth, shall rejoyce to-
 “ gether

(l) Καὶ ὁφείδε Θεὸν ἐν σχήματι ἀνθρώπου.

(m) Διὰ γὰρ τῆς σκήπτρου αὐτοῦ ὁφθήσεται Θεός, κατοικῶν
 ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

(n) Προσκυνῶντες τὸν βασιλέα τῶν οὐρανῶν, τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς
 φανέντα ἐν μορφῇ ἀνθρώπου ταπεινώσεως.

“ gether with him. At which time all men
 “ shall rise again, some to glorie, and others
 “ to disgrace. And the Lord will judge *If-*
 “ *rael* in the first place, on (o) account of
 “ their injustice to him; because they did
 “ not believe in God, when he came as their
 “ deliverer in the flesh.”

16. *Simeon* §. vi. “ Then shall *Sem* be
 “ glorified, when (p) the Lord the Great
 “ God of *Israel* shall appear upon earth as a
 “ man, and shall save *Adam* by himself. . . .
 “ Then shall I rise again with gladnesse, and
 “ shall bleſs the Most High for his wonder-
 “ ful works, because (q) God taking a body
 “ and eating with them hath saved them.”

17. *Aſer* §. vii. “ . . . until (r) the Most
 “ High shall viſit the earth, and he himſelf
 “ shall come as a man eating and drinking
 “ with men, and in ſilence bruising the head
 “ of the dragon by water. He shall ſave
 “ *Israel* and all the Gentils.”

18. *Levi*

(o) Περὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτοῦ ἀδικίας, ὅτι παραγενόμενου Θεοῦ ἐν σαρκὶ ἐλευθερωτὴν οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν.

(p) Ὅτε κύριος, ὁ Θεὸς μέγας τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, φαινόμενος ἐπὶ γῆς ὡς ἄνθρωπος, κ. λ.

(q) Ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς σῶμα λαβὼν, καὶ συνεδίωκεν ἀνθρώποις, ἔσωσεν αὐτούς.

(r) Ἔως οὗ ὃ ὕψιστος ἐπισκέψεται τὴν γῆν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ἐδίωκεν καὶ πίνων μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

18. *Levi* §. xvi. “ And now I know by
 “ the book of *Enoch*, that you will de-
 “ spise the words of the Prophets, and in
 “ your perversnesse you will persecute righ-
 “ teous men, and hate the holy : you will
 “ abominate the words of those that speak
 “ truth, and (s) you will declare that man
 “ who renews the law in the power of the
 “ Most High a deceiver : and in the end, as
 “ you suppose, you will kill him, not know-
 “ ing his resurrection, and by malice will
 “ bring innocent blood upon your heads.
 “ And for his sake your holy places will be-
 “ come desolate, being profaned to the foun-
 “ dation.” And more to the same purpose.
 One can hardly help thinking, that this pre-
 tended ancient prophecie is founded upon the
 event, and *Matth.* xxiii. 34—to the end.

The following passages I put down, as con-
 taining allusions, or references to the books of
 the New Testament.

19. *Dan* §. vi. “ His name in every *Matthew*.
 “ place of *Israel*, and among the Gentils, shall
 “ be the Saviour.” See *Matth.* i. 21.

20. *Joseph*

(s) Καὶ ἄνδρα ἀνακαινοποιῶντα τὸν νόμον ἐν δυνάμει ὑφίστα,
 πλάνον προσαγορεύσετε.

20. *Joseph* §. iii. " I therefore called to
 " mind the words of the fathers of my father
 " *Jacob*: and (t) entering into my closet, I
 " prayed to the Lord." *Matth.* vi. 6.

One would think, that the author, when
 he wrote this, was afraid he should be sus-
 pected of borrowing from St. *Matthew's* Gos-
 pel, or some late direction conformable to it.
Joseph therefore is made to say, he recollected
 the words of his fathers.

21. *Joseph* §. i. says to his sons: " I was
 " sold for a servant, and God made me free:
 " I was taken as a captive, and his strong
 " hand helped me . . . I was in weaknesse,
 " and the Most High visited me: I was in
 " prison, and my Saviour dealt graciously
 " with me: under false accusations, and
 " he pleaded for me." See *Matth.* xxv. 35.
 36.

In several of the passages before alleged
 are references to some parts of this Gospel.
 See *numb.* 5. 11. 12. 18.

Luke.

22. *Judah* §. xxv. prophesying of Christ
 says: " And they that dyed in sorrow shall
 " rise again in joy: and they that were in
 " poverty for the Lord's sake shall be made
 " rich:

(t) Καὶ εἰσερχόμενος εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖον, προσευχόμενος κυρίῳ.

“ rich: and they that were in want shall be
 “ filled: and they that were in weaknesse
 “ shall be made strong: and they that have
 “ dyed for the Lord shall be awakened in
 “ life:.... But the impious shall mourn,
 “ and the sinners shall weep.”

I suppose, that these things are borrowed chiefly from *Matth. v.* at the begining, and *Luke vi. 20.—25.*

23. *Levi* §. xviii. prophesying of Christ says: “ And *Beliar* shall be bound by him,
 “ and he (*u*) shall give power to his chil-
 “ dren, to tread upon the wicked spirits.”
 See *Luke x. 18. 19.*

24. *Gad* §. vi. “ And if any one sin a-
 “ gainst thee, speak to him peaceably,.....
 “ and (*x*) if he confess his fault, forgive
 “ him.” See *Luke xvii. 3. 4.*

25. *Joseph* §. xvii. says to his sons:
 “ Nor did I arrogantly exalt myself among
 “ them [*my brethren*] on account of my
 “ worldly glorie, but I was among them, as
 “ one of the least of them.” See *Luke xxii.*
 17.

26. *Levi*

(u) Καὶ δώσει ἐξουσίαν τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ πατεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ
 πονηρὰ πνεύματα.

(x) Καὶ ἐὰν ὁμολογήσας μετανοήσῃ, ἄφες αὐτῷ.

26. *Levi* §. v. “ And the angel opened
 “ to me the gates of heaven, and I saw the
 “ holy temple, and the Most High upon the
 “ throne of glorie. And He said unto me:
 “ *Levi*, to thee have I given the blessings of
 “ priesthood, until I come, and inhabit in
 “ the midst of *Israel*.” See *John* i. 11.
 14.

27. *Benjamin* §. iii. says, that *Joseph* en-
 treated *Jacob* to pray for his brethren, that
 the Lord would not impute to them what
 they had wickedly contrived against him.
 “ Whereupon *Jacob* cryed out : O my good
 “ son, *Joseph*, . . . the prophecie of heaven
 “ concerning the Lamb of God and Saviour
 “ of the World shall be fulfilled in thee : for
 “ the spotless one shall be delivered up for
 “ transgressors, and the sinless one shall dye
 “ for the impious, in the blood of the cove-
 “ nant, for the salvation of *Israel* and of all
 “ the Gentils. And he shall destroy *Beliar*,
 “ and those that minister unto him.” See
John i. 29. Behold the lamb of God, which
 taketh away the sin of the world. See like-
 wise *Rom.* v. 6. 8. *Heb.* ix. 14. *1 Pet.* i.
 19.

28. *Benjamin* §. ix. “ And the twelve
 “ tribes shall be gathered there, [at *Jeru-*
 “ *salem*]

“ *falem*] and all nations, until the Most High
 “ send his salvation in the visitation of the
 “ only begoten. And he shall come to the
 “ first temple, and there the Lord shall be ill
 “ treated, and shall be lifted up upon a tree,
 “ and the veil of the temple shall be rent:
 “ and (y) the spirit of God shall descend
 “ upon [or, *remove to*] the Gentils, as fire
 “ poured out upon them. And coming up
 “ out of hell he shall ascend from earth to
 “ heaven. Now I know, how low he shall
 “ be upon earth, and how glorious in hea-
 “ ven.”

This passage confirms, beside other things, the historie of the book of the *Acts*, and of the Epistles. See particularly *Acts* i. 1—11. Ch. ii. 30—33. x. 44. It likewise affords good evidence, that the author is not a judaizer. See hereafter Numb. 35.

29. *Naphtali* §. iv. “ Until the compas- *Ephes.*
 “ sion of the Lord come, a man doing righ-
 “ teousnesse, and (z) exercising mercy to all
 “ that are afar off, and that are nigh.” See
Eph. ii. 17.

D d d

30. *Dan*

(y) Καταθήσεται [αὐτὸς μεταθήσεται] τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ
 ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη, ὡς πῦρ ἐκχυνόμενον.

(z) Καὶ ποίαν ἔλεος εἰς πάντας τοὺς μακρὰν, καὶ τοὺς
 ἐγγύς.

30. *Dan* §. v. “ But (a) depart from
“ anger, and hate lying, that the Lord may
“ dwell in you. Speak every one truth to
“ his neighbour.” See *Eph.* iv. 25. 26.
There is a like exhortation in the Testament
of *Reuben* §. vi.

1 *Theff.*

31. *Levi* §. vi. “ And (b) the wrath of
“ the Lord came upon them to the utter-
“ most.” See 1 *Theff.* ii. 16.

Mr. *Whiston* (c) thinks, that St. *Paul* al-
ludes to this place of our xii *Testaments*. And
Grabe (d) is of much the same opinion. I
do not affirm, that this expression of the A-
postle was never used by any one before him.
For that is more than we can be sure of. On
the other hand, I know of no proof, that
St. *Paul* was acquainted with this book:
Whereas I think it will appear plain to every
one presently, that this author was acquaint-
ed with St. *Paul*’s epistles: and therefore
might borrow this expression, as well as o-
ther things, from them.

32. *Dan*

(a) Ἀπέσιντε ἀπὸ θυμοῦ. καὶ μισήσατε τὸ ψεῦδος, ἵνα κύ-
ριος κατοικήσῃ ἐν ὑμῖν. Ἀλήθειαν λαλεῖτε ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν
πλησίον αὐτοῦ.

(b) Ἐξέσασε δὲ ἡ ὀργὴ κυρίου ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς εἰς τέλος.

(c) *Authentic Records*. p. 313.

(d) *Spicileg.* T. i. p. 138.

32. *Dan* §. vi. “ But draw near to God, ^{1. Tim.}
 “ and the angel that pleads for you, for (e)
 “ he is the mediator between God and men
 “ for the peace of *Israel*.” See 1 *Tim.* ii. 5.
 Here also God is stiled the (f) *Father of*
the Gentils, as he is called their God by
Paul. Rom. iii. 29.

33. *Reuben* §. vi. “ I charge you to ^{*Hebrews*}
 “ hearken to *Levi*, for he shall know the
 “ law of the Lord, . . . till (g) the comple-
 “ tion of the times of the High Priest
 “ Christ, of whom the Lord has spoken.”

This is a character of the *Messiah* much
 insisted on in these Testaments, as well as
 in the epistle to the *Hebrews*. Whether this
 author learned it thence, I cannot say. In
 the *Testament of Naphtali* §. ii. is somewhat
 resembling *Hebr.* iv. 12. 13.

34. *Levi* §. xviii. “ And after venge-
 “ ance shall be taken of these by the Lord,
 “ and the priesthood shall fail, the Lord
 “ will raise up a new Priest, . . . and there
 “ (h) shall be none to succeed him, from

D d d 2

“ one

(e) Ὅτι αὐτός ἐστι μεσίτης Θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων.

(f) ἵνα δεξιηται ὑμᾶς ὁ πατήρ τῶν ἐθνῶν.

(g) Μέχρι τελειώσεως χρόνων ἀρχιερέως Χριστοῦ, ὃν εἶπε κύριος.

(h) Καὶ οὐκ ἔσται διαδοχὴ αὐτοῦ εἰς γενεὰς καὶ γενεὰς, ἕως αἰῶνος.

“ one generation to another for ever.” This passage should be compared with *Hebr.* vii. 22. 23. 24.

*Acts, and
Paul's E-
pistles.*

35. *Benjamin* §. xi. “ Moreover, *says*
“ *Benjamin*, I shall be no longer called a ra-
“ vening wolf on account of your ravages,
“ but the Lord's laborer, distributing food to
“ those who work that which is good. And
“ in the last days shall be raised up out of my
“ seed one beloved of the Lord, who shall
“ hear his voice, and enlighten all the Gen-
“ tils with new knowledge, affording [*them*]
“ the light of knowledge in the salvation of
“ *Israel*, snatching it like a wolf from them,
“ and giving it to the congregation of the Gen-
“ tils: and until the consummation of the
“ world he shall be in the congregation of
“ the Gentils, and among their Princes as a
“ musical song in the mouth of all. And
“ (*i*) in the holy books he shall be written,
“ both his work and his word. And he
“ shall be the elect of God for ever. And
“ on his account it was, that *Jacob* my fa-
“ ther instructed me saying: He shall fill up
“ the defects of thy tribe.”

Every

(i) Καὶ ἐν βίβλοις ταῖς ἁγίαις ἔσαι ἀναγραφόμενος, καὶ τὸ ἔργον, καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἔσαι ἐκλεκτός Θεὸς ἕως τοῦ αἰῶ-
νος.

Every one perceives, that the person here spoken of is the Apostle *Paul*. And I should think, that every one might perceive also, that this is not a real genuine prophecie, but an allusion, or representation of matters of fact already done, artfully put into the form of a prediction, with a design, probably, to gain some people whom the author had in his eye, to acknowledge the Christian Religion, and the authority of *Paul* in particular. But a few remarks may be of use.

1.) The writer alludes to Gen. xlix. 27. which according to the Septuagint Version is thus: *Benjamin (k) is a ravening wolf, which devours in the morning still, and till the evening he gives food*. This prophecie is applied to St. *Paul (l)* by *Tertullian* in two places of his remaining works, as has been observed by *Grabe*. I do not mention this as an

D d d 3

argu-

(k) Βενιαμὴν λύκος ἄρπαξ τὸ πρωῒνὸν ἔδεται ἔτι, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἑσπέρας δίδωσι τροφήν.

(l) Inter illas figuras, et propheticas super filios suos benedictiones, Jacob cum ad Benjamin direxisset: Benjamin, inquit, Lupus rapax ad matutinum comedet adhuc, et ad vesperam dabit escam. Ea tribu enim Benjamin oriturum Paulum providebat, lupum rapacem ad matutinum comedentem, id est, prima aetate vastaturum pecora Domini, ut persecutorem ecclesiarum; dehinc ad vesperam escam daturum, id est, devergente jam aetate oves Christi educaturum, ut doctorem nationum. *Adv. Marcion*. l. v. c. 1. *Vid. et Scorpiace*. c. 13. initio.

argument, that the book we are considering, the *Testaments of the xii Patriarchs*, was not writ till after the time of *Tertullian*: but only as as proof, that this was a Christian interpretation of the prophecie in *Genesis*. It may have been thought of by many before *Tertullian*. It was natural enough for Christians to understand this text of *Paul*, who was of the tribe of *Benjamin*: who in the former part of his life, and in the early days of Christianity, while it yet began to dawn upon mankind, fiercely persecuted the church of God, and afterwards became a diligent and successful laborer in confirming and encreasing it.

It will not be disagreeable to the reader to see, without the trouble of looking for them, a few passages of ancient Christian writers, who apply that text of *Genesis* to St. *Paul*. I therefore put in the margin one passage of (m) *Origen*, and another of (n) *Theodoret*, and

(m) Benjamin ille nunquam fuit lupus rapax. Benjamin ille nunquam ad vesperam dedit escam. Hebraeus ex Hebraeis, juxta legem Phariseus, circumcisis octavo die, Benjamin praedicabatur, lupus rapax ad matutinum comedens, quando juvenis fuit: et in vesperam dans escam, quando credens spiritalem praebeuit cibum a se ecclesiis institutis. *Orig. in Ezech. Hom. iv. T. 3. p. 731. A. B.*

(n) Φιδέναι δὲ χρῆν, ὥς τινες εἰς τὸν θεσπέσιον παῦλον τήνδε τὴν προφῆσιν ἐλκυσαν· λύκος γὰρ δίκην ἐλυμάνετο τὴν

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and refer to a third in (o) *Augustin*: all which are very much to our purpose.

2.) It is somewhat doubtful, what the author means by those expressions; *He shall be in the congregation of the Gentils, and among their Princes as a musical song in the mouth of all.* If hereby he intends Gentil Princes, that were become Christian, it would afford a strong argument, that this book was not composed before the third or fourth centurie. But herein may be only a reference to St. Paul's appearance before *Felix* and *Festus*, and other Gentil Rulers, and his discourses in their presence: which are not only recorded in the *Acts*, as matters of fact, but were also foretold by the Lord to *Ananias*, in this manner: *For he is a chosen vessel to me, to bear my name before the Gentils, and Kings, and the children of Israel.* Acts. ix. 15.

3.) When it is said: *And in the holy books he shall be writen, both his work, and his word*; there (p) is a plain reference to the

D d d 4

Acts

τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατὰ τὰς οἰκας εἰσπορευόμενος. Ὑπερονδὲ τὴν πνευματικὴν τροφὴν τῇ οἰκωμένῃ διέδωκε. *Theod. in Gen. Qu. cx. opp. T. i. p. 77. B.*

(o) *Vid. Aug. Serm. 279. Tom. v. Ed. Bened. Et passim.*

(p) Pauli epistolae vero et Lucae Acta Apostolorum a Benjamin hisce indigitantur verbis: Et in libris sacris erit inscriptus, et opus, et sermo ejus: opus quidem in Actis Apostolorum,

Acts of the Apostles, in which are recorded Paul's actions for and against the Christian Religion, and his discourses and preaching in several places: as also to his epistles: all which are parts of the holy scriptures. But the author has not given sufficient hints to satisfy us, how many epistles of this Apostle he received.

1 *John*. 36. *Iffachar* §. vii. " I am a 122 years
 " of age, and I never was conscious of any
 " sin unto death in me." See 1 *John* v.
 16. 17.

I shall transcribe here part of a fine passage in the Testament of *Gad* §. iv. which bears a reference likewise to some things in the first epistle of St. *John*: " For hatred co-ope-
 " rates to murder: and when any do well,
 " and are in prosperity: and he either hears
 " it, or sees it, he is grieved. For, as love
 " would revive those that are dead, and re-
 " call them back that are under the sentence
 " of death; so would hatred slay those that
 " are alive, and would not have them that
 " have committed a small offense to live any
 " longer.... But the spirit of love, by long
 " suffering,

zum, sermo autem et in his, et in ipsius Pauli epistolis. *Grabe*
Spic. T. i. p. 140.

“ suffering, co-operates with the law of
 “ God to the salvation of men.”

37. *Levi* §. xviii. “ For he shall open *Revela-
tion.*
 “ the ‘gates of paradise, and shall stop the
 “ threatening sword that was placed against
 “ *Adam* : and (q) shall give to his holy ones
 “ to eat of the tree of life, and the spirit
 “ of holiness shall be upon them.” See
Rev. ii. 7.

38. *Joseph* §. xix. acquaints his sons with
 a dream which he had : “ And (r) I saw,
 “ says he, that a Virgin (D) was born of
 “ *Judah*, that had on a fine linen garment,
 “ and from her proceeded a spotless Lamb.
 “ And on it’s left hand there was a Lion,
 “ and all the wild beasts ran against him,
 “ and the Lamb overcame them and destroy-
 “ ed them, till they were utterly troden
 “ down. And in him did angels, and men,
 “ and all the earth rejoyce. These things
 “ shall be fulfilled in their season in the last
 “ days.” *Rev.* xvii. 14.

39. *Dan*

(q) Καὶ δώσει τοῖς ἁγίοις φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς.

(r) Καὶ εἶδον, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἰουδα ἐγενήθη παρθένη, . . .
 καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς προῆλθεν ἄμωμος, κ. λ.

(D) *Grabe* has no doubt, but that hereby is intended the
 nativity of the *Messiah* of a Virgin Mother. Haec nativita-
 tem Messiae ex virgine spectare, quilibet videt. *Spicileg.* T.
 i. p. 361.

39. *Dan* §. v. “ And to them that call
 “ upon him shall he give eternal peace. And
 “ the righteous shall rejoyce in the New
 “ *Jerusalem*, which shall be for the glorie
 “ of God for ever. And *Jerusalem* shall
 “ no more undergo desolation, nor shall
 “ *Israel* be carried away captive: for the
 “ Lord shall be in the midst of her conver-
 “ sing with men, and the holy one of *Israel*
 “ shall reign over them in humility and po-
 “ verty. And he that believeth in him shall
 “ reign in truth, in the heavens.” It is
 probable, that here is a reference to *Rev.* xxi.
 2. 3. 4. and other parts of that book.

Of read-
 ing the
 scriptures.

40. This writer is justly alleged by (s)
Henry Wharton, as delivering his opinion,
 and the sentiment of Christians in his time,
 that the Holy Scriptures should be read by
 all sorts of men. “ And now, my sons,
 “ (*says Levi* §. xiii.) I charge you to fear
 “ the Lord your God out of your whole
 “ heart, and walk in simplicity of heart ac-
 “ cording to all his law. Do (t) you also
 “ teach your children learning, that they
 “ may

(s) *Ubi supra.* p. 322.

(t) Διδάξατε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν γράμματα, ἵνα
 ἔχῃσι σύνεσιν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ζωῇ αὐτῶν, ἀναγιγνώσκοντες ἀδια-
 λήπτως τὸν νόμον τοῦ Θεοῦ.

“ may have understanding in all their life,
 “ reading continually the law of God.”

41. Thus this author in an indirect manner, and a pretended prophetic style bears a large testimonie to the Christian Religion: to the facts, principles and books of the New Testament. He speaks of the nativity of Christ, the meekness and unblamableness of his life, his crucifixion at the instigation of the *Jewish* Priests, the wonderful concomitants of his death, his resurrection, and ascension. He represents the character of the *Messiah*, as God and man, the Most High God with men, eating and drinking with them, the son of God, the Saviour of the world, of the Gentils and *Israel*, as eternal High Priest and King. He likewise speaks of the effusion of the Holy Spirit upon the *Messiah*, attended with a voice from heaven, his unrighteous treatment by the *Jews*, and their desolations, and the destruction of the temple upon that account: the call of the Gentils, the illuminating them generally with new light, the effusion of the Spirit upon believers, but especially, and in a more abundant measure upon the Gentils. Here is little notice taken of our Lord's miracles. However he

*Sum of this
 testimonie.*

he speaks of the *Messiah*, as (E) a *man*, who renews the law in the power of the Most High, in which expressions the working of miracles seems to be implied. Here are also passages, which seem to contain allusions to the Gospels of St. *Matthew*, St. *Luke*, and St. *John*, the *Acts of the Apostles*, the epistle to the *Ephesians*, first to the *Thessalonians*, first to *Timothie*, the epistle to the *Hebrews*, the first epistle of St. *John*, and the book of the *Revelation*. And as far as was consistent with his assumed character, the author declares the canonical authority of the *Acts of the Apostles*, and the Epistles of St. *Paul*. Lastly, he recommends the reading of the holy scriptures.

42. I fear that some will think, I have insisted too long upon this book. But it could by no means be quite omitted, as every one must be convinced by the contents of it, and the age in which it was writ, according to the general opinion of learned men; either at the end of the first, or at the utmost some time in the second centurie. And I was willing to make an end with it at once. I think, it cannot be disagreeable, to see the
testimo.

(2) See numb. 18.

testimonies of a variety of authors. And since some have been pleased to disguise themselves, and appear under borrowed names and characters; it may be not only an entertainment, but a confirmation of our faith, to find them also asserting in their way, the chief things concerning the Christian Religion.

IV. They who are desirous to inform *The Recognitions.* themselves concerning *The RECOGNITIONS OF CLEMENT* may find satisfaction in the Judgement of *Cotelerius* upon them, and in the Testimonies prefixed to his edition of this work, and *Grabe's* learned and judicious Preface to the writings of *St. Clement* in his *Spicilegium*.

The first Ecclesiastical Writer, who has mentioned this work, is *Origen*, by whom it is twice cited: once in the third Tome of his Commentaries upon *Genesis*, which passage is preserved in his (u) *Philocalia*, where he calls it by the title of *The Travels*: and again, in his Tracts upon (x) *St. Matthew*.

(u) Καὶ Κλήμης δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, Πέτρος ἀποστόλος μαθητῆς, συνωδᾷ τήτοις ἐν τῷ παρόντι προβλήματι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ ἐιπὼν ἐν ταῖς περιόδοις. *Philoc.* c. 23. p. 18. *Cantabr.*

(x) Tale aliquid dicit et Petrus apud Clementem. *ad Matthæi cap. xxvi. 6. Op. Lat. p. 172. Paris. 1571.*

thew. He seems to quote it, as *Clement's*: or at least, as a book ascribed to him. It may be argued from these few quotations of this book in all the remaining works of *Origen*, whether *Greek* or *Latin*, that it was in no great esteem with him, and of no authority.

The next author, whose testimonie we are to consider, is *Eusebe*. Having spoken in the third book of his *Ecclesiastical Historie*, of the first epistle of *St. Clement of Rome*, and then of the second, ascribed to him, he adds: "Moreover (y) some men have not
" long since produced large and voluminous
" writings, as his, containing Disputations
" of *Peter* and *Appion*, of which there is no
" mention made by the ancients. Nor have
" they the pure Apostolical Doctrine. What
" therefore is the genuine and acknowledged
" writing of *Clement*, is manifest."

Upon this passage we are to observe in the first place, that (z) *Valesius*, and (a) *Cotelerius*,

(y) Ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ ἕτερα πολυεπὴ καὶ μακρὰ συγγράμματα, ὡς τὰ αὐτῶν, χθὲς καὶ πρῶτον τινὲς προήγαγον. Πέτρος δὲ καὶ Ἀπίωνος διαλόγους περιέχοντα· ἃν καὶ ὅλας μνήμη τις παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς φέρεται· καὶ γὰρ καθαρὸν τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ὁδοδοξίας ἀποσάξει τὸν χαρακτῆρα. Ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν Κλήμεντος ὁμολογούμενη γραφή, πρόδηλον. 1. 3. C. 38.

(z) *In loc. Euseb.*

(a) *Judic. de libris Recognitionum: apud Patres Apostol.*

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rius, and some others reckon, that hereby *Eusebe* intends the Recognitions: of which they suppose the Disputations, or Dialogues of *Peter* and *Appion* to be a part. But I think, that (b) *Grabe* has proved, these Disputations to be a different work. He observes, that *Photius* mentions the Recognitions, and the Disputations of *Peter* and *Appion* distinctly, as two different works: and though in the tenth book of the Recognitions *Appion* is named several times, yet there is no mention of any dispute of *Peter* with him. Secondly, whether *Eusebe* here intends the Recognitions, or not, he has condemned them. He owns nothing for St. *Clement's*, but his epistle to the *Corinthians*, and rejects every thing else ascribed to him; this book in particular, if it was then extant.

In another place (c) *Eusebe* rejects a book, entitled the *Acts of Peter*, together with several others, as not having been delivered to them for Catholic Writings. If by these *Acts of Peter* he intends the Recognitions, they are here expressly rejected by him.

It

(b) *Spicileg.* T. i. p. 271. et seq.

(c) Τό γε μὴν τῶν ἐπιτεκλημένων αὐτοῦ πράξεων, . . . οὐδ' ἔλας ἐν καθολικοῖς ἴσμεν παραδεδομένα. . . . l. 3. c. 3. p. 72. A.

It is plain from (d) *Photius*, that a part of this work was called the *Acts of Peter*. *Photius* himself speaks (e) of the whole work by that title, and commends the stile of it, as much superior to the *Constitutions*. *Grabe* (f) mentions a manuscript, in which it has this title : *The Itinerarie of St. Clement, concerning the Acts and words of the Blessed Apostle Peter*. And it is obvious to every one from the contents, that the *Recognitions* may be very properly called *Peter's Acts*. If by the *Acts of Peter*, rejected here in the beginning of the third book of his *Historie*, *Eusebe* means *The Recognitions*; we have a good reason of his not mentioning them particularly afterwards in the 38. chapter of the same book, where he speaks of the genuine and supposititious works of *St. Clement*.

Epiphanius says : “ The (g) *Ebionites* use
“ likewise

(d) Ἐν ᾧ αἱ τε λεγόμεναι τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου πράξεις, καὶ αἱ πρὸς Σίμωνα τὸν μάγον διαλέξεις, καὶ ἔτι ὁ ἀναγνωρισμὸς Κλήμεντος καὶ πατρὸς, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀδελφῶν. *Phot. Cod.* 112. 113.

(e) Ἡ μὲντοι γε τῶν τοῦ Πέτρου πράξεων βίβλος τῷ τε λαμπρῷ καὶ τῇ σεμνότητι, . . . καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀρετῇ λόγῳ τοσοῦτο ἔχει πρὸς τὰς διαταγὰς τὸ παράλλατον, κ. λ. *ibid.* p. 289. ver. 45.

(f) *Itinerarium S. Clementis de factis et dictis B. Petri Apostoli, Spicileg.* T. i. p. 276.

(g) Χρῶνται δὲ καὶ ἄλλαις τισὶ βίβλοις, δῆθεν ταῖς περιόδοις καλεμέναις Πέτρου, ταῖς δια Κλήμεντος γραφαῖς νοθεύσαν.

“ likewise several other books, as the *Travels*
 “ of *Peter* writ by *Clement* : which too they
 “ have corrupted, leaving little that is genu-
 “ ine : ” as appears, he says, from the epi-
 stles of *Clement*, which contain a different
 doctrine. Forasmuch as *Epiphanius* does not
 say, that these *Travels* were forged, but on-
 ly that they were *corrupted* ; he is supposed to
 allow, that they were originally writ by
Clement.

Ferome’s opinion of the works of *Clement*
 may be reckoned to be the same with that of
Eusebe, since in his article of St. *Clement*, in
 his Catalogue, he does little more than tran-
 scribe the passage of *Eusebe*, in which he
 censures the *Dialogues of Peter and Appion*.
 And if the *Recognitions* are not the same
 with those *Dialogues*, yet he may be sup-
 posed to reject them by consequence, in as
 much as he insists upon no other piece of
Clement, as genuine, beside the Epistle to the
Corinthians. In another work he refers to a
 book under the name of (b) *The Travels*, or

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the

νοήσαντες τὰ μὲν ἐν αὐταῖς, ὀλίγα δὲ ἀληθινὰ εἰδόντες.
Haer. 30. §. 15.

(b) Possumus autem de Petro dicere, quod habuerit socrum
 eo tempore quo crediderit, et uxorem jam non habuerit :
 quamquam legatur in *περίοδοις* et uxor ejus et filia. Sed
 nunc nobis de canone omne certamen est. *Adv. Jovinian.*
 l. i. c. 14. p. 186. T. iv. P. 2. ed *Bened.*

the *Travels of Peter*, which appears to have been of no authority. Once (i) more, he quotes *Clement in his Travels*, or *in Peter's Travels*, for something not found expressly in this work at present.

Ruffin, who translated the ten books of *Recognitions* out of Greek into Latin, in whose translation only we now have them, plainly supposes them to have been written (k) by *Clement of Rome*, but that the copies in his time had been corrupted in some places.

This book is, for a large part of it at least, a fiction, or romance, in which divers things concerning the Christian Religion are represented in a philosophical manner, in order to render them more agreeable to the *Greeks*. It is called the *Circuits*, or *Travels*, and *Acts*
of

(i) *Deinde post annos tres veni Hierosolymam videre Petrum. Non ut oculos, genas, vultumque ejus aspiceret: utrum macilentus, an pinguis, adunco naso esset, an recto: et utrum frontem vestiret coma: an (ut Clemens in Periodis ejus refert) calvitiam haberet in capite. Comment. in Ep. ad Galat. Cap. i. ver. 18.*

(k) *Clemens apostolorum discipulus, qui Romanae ecclesiae, post apostolos, et apostolus et martyr praefuit, libros edidit, qui graece appellantur ἀναγνώσιμους, id est Recognitio . . . Sunt etiam alia nonnulla libris ejus inserta, quae ecclesiastica regula non recipit. Ruffin. de adulteratione librorum Origenis. Suscipe igitur, anime mi, redeuntem ad te Clementem nostrum: suscipe jam Romanum. Idem. in S. Clement. Recognitionum libros Praefat. ad Caudentium.*

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of Peter from the subject matter of it: as it contains an account of the Apostle *Peter's* disputes with *Simon Magus*, and his discourses to other people, and many miracles wrought by him in several places; at *Cesarea*, *Dora*, *Ptolemais*, *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Tripoli*, *Laodicea*, *Antioch*, and his journeys from one city to another. It is called *The Recognitions* from *Clement's* (l) recognising his father and mother and brethren, who had been long separated from each other.

Mr. Whiston has a singular opinion concerning the author of this work. He allows, that it (m) was not written by *Clement himself*. This, he says, is evident by the entire stile and genius of the whole, as compared with the vastly different stile and genius of *Clement's* genuine epistles and Constitutions: but it was written by (n) some of the bearers of *Clement* and other companions of the Apostles. According to this account, it is the work of some Anonymous person, who was a hearer, or disciple of Apostolical men. But I think, that it must be reckoned to be *Clement's*, or

E e e 2

to

(l) L. ix. §. 38. et seq.

(m) Preface to *Mr. Whiston's translation of the Recognitions of Clement*. p. 18. London 1712.

(n) *Ib.* p. 17. et alibi.

to be supposititious. This is evident from the testimonies of the ancients all along, who speak of this work as written by *Clement*, or at least ascribed to him. And that the author intended it should be esteemed the writing, or composition of *Clement*, appears from the whole of the work, though from some passages more especially. It begins: *I Clement, who was born in the city of Rome*, and what follows. I shall transcribe a passage or two, taking Mr. *Whiston's* translation of them. In the 25. section of the first book, *Peter* says: "Enough, o *Clement*:
 " for thou hast repeated this discourse more
 " clearly than I delivered it. Then I replied: A liberal education has enabled us
 " to observe an agreeable method in discourse, to set proper truths in a clear
 " light. Now if we use this talent in support of ancient errors, . . . we lose the design of the decency and sweetness of language. But if we make use of this art and
 " beauty of language for the confirmation
 " of the truth, I suppose there may great
 " benefit accrue from it." This is the design of the work, and it is *Clement*, to whom this talent is ascribed here, and in other places. But more expressly still, near the
 conclu-

conclusion of the third book, after the account of *Peter's* disputes with *Simon Magus*, and his discourses to other people at *Cesarea*; when they were almost ready to go from thence to *Dora*, it is said: "He also, [that is, *Peter*] when he perceived that I [*Clement*] fixed what I heard deep in my memory, gave it me in charge to put together all the most memorable passages, and to write them in books, and to send them to you, My Lord *James*, as I have accordingly done, in obedience to his orders. The first book then of those which I formerly sent to you treats of the true Prophet." Where follow short contents of the ten books, *writ and sent formerly*. So that the same *Clement*, who wrote those former books, writes these also. This work therefore, as it is ascribed to *Clement*, but is not his, is supposititious, and the author can hardly escape the character of an impostor.

The judgement of *Cotelerius* upon these books of Recognitions, which he so well understood, is in short this, that *they (o) are*

E e e 3 *supposi-*

(o) Quantum ex re ipsa, veterum testimoniis, ac recentiorum judiciis colligere licet, libri isti pseudepigraphi sunt et apochryphi, secundo saeculo compositi a viro docto quidem iuxta ac disertio, sed philosopho magis et philologo, quam theologo. . . . ap. *Patr. Ap.* T. i. p. 484.

supposititious and apocryphal, composed by some learned and eloquent man in the second centurie.

Which leads me to observe the time of these books. That they were in being in the later part of the second, or the begining of the third centurie, may be inferred from the citations of *Origen*: and that they were not extant much sooner, may be inferred from the silence of *Irenaeus* and *Clement* of *Alexandria* about them. Moreover in the ninth book (*p*) of the *Recognitions* is a long passage, which appears to be taken out of the book of *Fate*, writ by *Bardeſanes*: though the author does not give any hint, that he takes it from another. As *Bardeſanes* flourished about the year 180, and his books were writ originally in *Syriac*; it cannot be supposed, that the *Recognitions* were published, till near the end of the second centurie.

It happens, that this passage together with somewhat more is quoted by *Eusebe* from *Bardeſanes* himself. That *Bardeſanes* did not take that passage from the *Recognitions*, but the author of the *Recognitions* from him,

has

(*p*) From §. 19. to §. 29.

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Idem

has been clearly shewn by (q) *Grabe*, upon as good evidence as can be desired in a thing of this nature: though, in my opinion, it needs no proof. I shall only just add therefore, that as *Eusebe* has ascribed that passage to *Bardefanes*, we ought to rely upon him for the author of it. It is a point, that cannot be reasonably contested or disputed. *Eusebe*, when he introduces the quotation, says, he takes it (r) out of a *Dialogue of Bardefanes the Syrian*, and at the end (s) he says again: *Thus far the Syrian*.

Nevertheless *Mr. Whiston* disputes this point. But his objections do not appear to me material. Nor do I suppose, that any man who looks into *Grabe* himself can be much moved by them. But whereas (t) *Mr. Whiston* observes, that *Epiphanius* tells us, *the book of Fate*, writ by *Bardefanes*, was made up of collections taken out of other authors. *Haer.* 56. §. 2. I must take the (u) liberty

E e e 4

to

(q) *Spicileg. Patr.* T. i. p. 278.

(r) *Praep. Evang.* l. 6. cap. 9. 10. p. 275. A.

(s) Τοσάυτα καὶ ὁ Σύρος. *ibid.* p. 280. C.

(t) *Preface, as before*, p. 12.

(u) It is likely, that *Mr. Whiston's* mistake is owing to his misinterpretation of *Epiphanius Haer.* 56. §. 1. ὅς πολλα [πρὸς] Αβειδάν τὸν ἀστρονόμον κατὰ ἐμπαρμένης λέγων συνέλογησατο. Which are thus rightly rendered by *Petavius*, *Idem adversus Abidam astrologum contra fatum pluribus disputavit.*

to say, that I do not perceive *Epiphanius* to tell us any such thing.

With regard to the age of this work, I would add farther; that the arguments here used against Heathenism seem to imply, that the Christian was not yet the prevailing established religion. And the author often (x) speaks of the power of Christians to heal diseases, and expel demons, as if it was common in his time. And that such gifts were enjoyed by many Christians in the second, and the beginning of the third centurie, we are assured by *Irenaeus*, *Tertullian*, *Origen* and others: after which time, or however after the end of the third centurie, they were not so common, if they did not quite cease.

Mr. *Whiston's* (y) opinion of this book is,
 “ That if it be not in some sense or other
 “ itself a sacred book, yet ought it certainly
 “ to be esteemed in the next degree to that
 “ of the really sacred books of the New
 “ Testa-

putavit. But supposing Mr. *Whiston* to have understood the Greek word in the sense of *collecting*, he had no right to say, that *Epiphanius* tells us, the book of *Fate* was made up of *collections* taken out of other authors. For those collections might be the fruit of *Bardesanes* own observations, as they plainly were, according to his own account. See *Grabe Spicileg.* p. 78.

(x) L. iv. §. 14. 20. 32. 33.

(y) *As before*, p. 38.

“ Testament.” In the opinion of (z) many other learned men it is a worthless piece, of little or no use. We will endeavor however to make some good use of a work, which cost the author a great deal of labour, and in which are some excellent sentiments, and fine passages: though at the same time there are several very great faults (A), for which no good excuse can be made: So that one cannot well help wishing upon the whole, that this author, who was a man of great abilities, had employed his time better.

1. We are not to expect here any express *Matthew*. citations of the scriptures of the New Testament, unless the author should forget himself; the discourses and conferences here related

(z) Enfin cet ouvrage n'est d'aucune utilité, soit pour la maniere dont il est écrit, soit pour les choses qu'il contient. *Du Pin Bibliothéque. St. Clement Romain.* En un mot, on le regarde comme un ouvrage qui n'est d'aucune prix, ni d'aucune utilité. *Tillemont Mem. Ec. T. 2. P. i. St. Clement. Art. 6. p. 295.*

(A) He says in the *first* book, that whilst *Jesus Christ* was teaching in *Judea*, in the reign of *Tiberius*, “ A certain man [*Barnabas*] stood in one of the most public places of the city, [*of Rome*] and proclaimed to the people and said: O ye Citizens of Rome, hearken to me: The son of God is now present in the region of *Judea*, and promises to all that are willing to hear him eternal life.” B. i. §. 7. This is said, I suppose, as more agreeable to *Greeks* and *Romans*, at the time of the author's writing, than the real truth. For this is contrarie to the *Gospels* and the *Acts*,

ted being supposed to be made at a time, when few or none of the books of the New Testament were written. He will therefore recite the words of our Lord recorded in the Gospels, as heard by those persons who mention them, or learned from Apostles, or others, our Lord's hearers. I shall put down one passage, as an example of his indirect way of quoting, in compliance with the decorum of the circumstances his persons are supposed to be in. *Peter* speaks: " Whence (a) it
 " was well said by a certain person to the
 " preachers of truth: *Ye are the light of the*
 " *world*: And: *A city that is set on a hill*
 " *cannot be hid*: *Neither do men light a can-*
 " *dle, and put it under a bushel; but on a*
 " *candle-*

Acts, according to which *Christ* was not preached to the Gentils till some time after his resurrection. And the author, as if he were himself sensible of the impropriety of this part of his fiction, makes *Barnabas* soon leave *Rome* upon a little ill treatment. He introduces *Peter* relating a silly miracle in *Judea*. " . . . Whilst, says he, we were gone to the sepulchres of two of our brethren, which were every year new whitened of their own accord. By which miracles the fury of many against us was repressed, when they thereby perceived, that our brethren were bad in remembrance with God. B. i. §. 71. *Peter* too says here, that *Gamaliel* was secretly their brother in the faith, but by their advice [that is, the Apostles] continued still among the Jewish Priests and Rulers. §. 65. which passage is censured by *Cotelarius*, as it deserves: *Vulpinum hoc consilium apostolis indignum est*. I omit other things.

(a) L. 8. §. 4.

“ candlestick, that it may give light to all
 “ that are in the house. Then said the old
 “ man: [*Clement's Father, yet a stranger,*
 “ *and not converted:*] Whosoever that per-
 “ son was, he spake plain truth.” *Matth.*
 v. 14. 15.

2. Thus we have given a good quotation of *St. Matthew's Gospel*. But we will observe a particular or two more. *Simon Magus* says to *Peter*: “ If (*b*) you do with
 “ reason require peace from your auditors,
 “ your master did without reason say: *I am*
 “ *not come to send peace on earth, but a sword.*”
Matth. x. 34.—“ To this *Peter* answer-
 “ ed.—You (*c*) remember, that our Ma-
 “ ster came not to send peace: but you do
 “ not remember, that he said: *Blessed are*
 “ *the peaceable, for they shall be called the*
 “ *children of God.*” *Matth.* v. 9.

3. In these books are many passages out of this Gospel. One may be apt to suspect, that in this author's copie the reading of *Matth.* v. 3. was, *Blessed are the poor*; he having twice mentioned this beatitude in that form. However, he gives a good interpretation

(b) L. 2. §. 26.

(c) §. 27.

tation of it. " In the begining (*d*) of his
 " preaching, as he was desirous to invite and
 " draw men to salvation, and to persuade
 " men to patience under their labours and
 " temptations, he declared *the poor blessed* :
 " and promised as a reward of their patient
 " enduring poverty, that *they should obtain*
 " *the kingdom of heaven.*" In a like manner
 (*e*) in another place.

4. He gives the true sense of *Matth. v. 6.*
 understanding it of bodily *hunger and thirst*,
 agreeably to St. *Luke vi. 21.* " He (*f*) did
 " also promise, *says he*, that *they who hunger*
 " *and thirst* should be filled with the eternal
 " blessings of righteousness; that bearing
 " want without discontent, they might not
 " on that account do any unjust action."
 He refers not to St. *Luke's*, but to St. *Mat-*
thew's Gospel, in which more especially this
 is placed near the *begining* of our Lord's
preaching.

5. He has likewise a good observation up-
 on the parable of the *Sower*, in *Matth. xiii.*
 and *Luke viii.* " But (*g*) because it cannot
 " be, but that a husbandman, who would

" fow

(*d*) L. 2. §. 28.

(*e*) L. 1. §. 61.

(*f*) L. 2. §. 28. conf. l. i. §. 61.

(*g*) L. 3. §. 14.

(*b*)
 invic
 (i)
 signa
 ad pa
 (k)

“ sow good ground, must lose some seeds which
 “ fall in stony places, or in places troden
 “ by men, or such as are full of brambles
 “ and thorns, as our Master has taught us,
 “ shewing hereby the different disposition of
 “ every one’s soul in particular, I will pro-
 “ ceed.”

6. “ To (*b*) those therefore who believe *Mark*.
 “ and obey he gives this command, that they
 “ should have peace one with another.” See
Mark ix. 50.

He seems to refer to *Mark* xiii. 32. when
Peter says: “ For (*i*) if our Master con-
 “ fessed, he did *not know that day and hour*,
 “ whose signs yet he foretold, that he might
 “ refer all to the Father ; how can we think
 “ it beneath us, to own that we are igno-
 “ rant of some things ?” However see
Matth. xxiv. 36.

7. “ Then (*k*) said *Simon*: [Magus] I *Luke*.
 “ mightily wonder at your folly. You pro-
 “ pose your Master’s words to us, just as if
 “ it were certainly known that he was a
 “ Prophet:

(*b*) *Credientibus ergo obedientibus, pacem habere inter se invicem jubet. L. 2. §. 29.*

(*i*) Si enim Magister noster diem et horam, cujus etiam signa praedixit, nescire se professus est ; ut totum revocaret ad patrem : quomodo nos——*L. x. §. 14.*

(*k*) *L. 2. §. 32.*

“ Prophet : whereas I can easily demon-
 “ strate, that he has often contradicted him-
 “ self.—For you own that he said : *Every*
 “ *kingdom, and every city divided against it-*
 “ *self cannot stand.* [Matth. xii. 25.] And
 “ you own (l) that in another place he said ;
 “ that he sent a sword to set those at vari-
 “ ance that were in the same house : so that
 “ the son would be divided from the father,
 “ and the daughter from the mother, and the
 “ brother from the brother : insomuch that if
 “ there were five in one house, three would be
 “ divided against two, and two against three.”
 Luke xii. 52. 53. In these books are several
 passages taken out of St. Luke’s Gospel.

John.

8. “ For (m) so did the true Prophet te-
 “ stify to us with an oath, when he said :
 “ Verily I say unto you, unless a man be
 “ born again of water, he shall not enter
 “ into the kingdom of heaven.” John
 iii. 5. which the author understands of bap-
 tism.

9. In another place : “ Now (n) the Son
 “ reveals the Father to those who do so ho-
 “ nor the Son, as they honor the Father.”
 John v. 23.

10. That

(l) Et alibi iterum ais eum dixisse ; *ibid.*

(m) L. 6. §. ix.

(n) L. 2. §. 48.

10. That this writer was acquainted with ^{*Acts.*} the book of the *Acts of the Apostles*, will appear from the following things. He mentions (o) the choice of *Matthias* to the Apostleship in the place of *Judas*, which is recorded *Acts* i. He relates a speech made by *Gamaliel* in favour of the Apostles, though here he misrepresents some things: “ Be (p) “ quiet for a while, o ye men of *Israel*: For “ you do not apprehend the trial which hangs “ over you. Wherefore let these men alone. And if indeed what they do is a “ work of human counsel, it will soon come “ to an end: but if it be of God, why do “ ye offend without cause, and yet advance “ nothing? For who can overcome the will “ of God?” See *Acts* v. 38. 39.

The author introduces *Peter* giving *Clement*, that is, himself, an (q) account of a dispute, which *James* and the other Apostles had with the *Jews* at the temple: and when the High Priest, and a great multitude were almost prepared for the receiving of baptism, a certain enemy did just then come into the temple with a few that followed him. He made a warm speech, exclaiming against the folly

(o) L. i. §. 60.

(p) L. i. §. 65.

(q) Ibid. §. 68. 69. &c.

folly of those *Jews* who were almost converted by the Apostles, and put all things into confusion, and made such a disturbance, that several were killed, and *James* was very much hurt. “After (r) three days, as *Peter* “adds, one of the brethren came to us from “*Gamaliel*, giving us private information, (s) that this enemy had received a “commission from *Caiaphas* to persecute all “who believed in *Jesus*, and was going to *Damascus* with his letters.” See *Acts* ix. 1. 2. xxii. 4. 5.

Our author undoubtedly means *Paul*. I do not know, why he does not name him. But here seem to be marks of ill will toward *St. Paul*. *Gamaliel* is complimented with the (B) character of a *brother*, whilst his disciple is a furious *enemy*. Then the main reason, why this enemy designed for *Damascus*, is said to be, that (t) *he thought Peter had fled thither* after the disturbance at the temple. Which is an invidious charge. And

(r) *Ib.* 71.

(s) Quod inimicus ille homo legationem suscepisset a *Caia-pha* pontifice, ut omnes qui crederent in *Jesum* persequeretur, et *Damascus* pergeret cum *Epistolis* ejus. . . . *ibid.*

(B) See note (A). p. 781.

(t) Idcirco autem praecipue *Damascus* festinaret, quod et illuc crederet confugisse *Petrum*. *ubi supra.*

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And he says nothing of the conversion of this enemy, though according to our accounts, and those undoubted, it happened soon after some things here related, in the way to *Damascus*: and was in all respects very extraordinarie, and the greatest triumph of truth in any age.

Farther, the author has a relation of *Simon of Samaria*; that he affirmed himself to be (u) *the supreme power of the High God*. See Acts viii. 10. and (x) that *he once believed in our Jesus*. See ver. 13. He says too, that Christ's *disciples in (y) imitation of their Master, when they suffered, did in like manner pray for their murderers*: where he seems to refer to *Stephen's prayer* Acts vii. 60. and perhaps to other instances of the like eminent virtue in the followers of Jesus.

I think here is good proof, that the author of this work was acquainted with the *Acts of the Apostles*.

F f f

II. " For

(u) Adferentem se esse quendam stantem, . . . et virtutem summam excelsi Dei. l. i. §. 72.

(x) Nam inde quid dicam, quod et Jesu nostro crediderat. l. 3. §. 49.

(y) Imitantes quoque discipuli Magistrum etiam ipsi cum paterentur, similiter pro interfectoribus suis orabant. l. 6. §. 5.

Rom.

11. "For (z) with God, *he is not a Jew, who is called a Jew among men: nor is he a Gentil, who is called a Gentil.*" Rom. ii. 38. There is another (a) place, which contains a reference to *Matth. vi. 24. or Rom. vi. 16.*

1 Cor.

12. It is here said, that the Israelites had (b) *a cup afforded them from a rock which followed them.* 1 Cor. x. 4. It is (c) reckoned among the greatest of crimes, *to partake of the table of demons; that is, to taste of what has been offered to them.* See 1 Cor. x. 20. 21.

1 Tim.

13. "So has your soul by long negligence produced many and pernicious notions of things, and (d) opinions of science *falsely so called.*" 1 Tim. vi. 20.

Hebrews.

14. In *Hebr. vii. 2. Melchisedec*, who was made like unto the Son of God, is called *King of Peace.* This author (e) says twice, that

(z) L. v. §. 34.

(a) L. v. §. 12.

(b) Et ex sequenti petra poculum ministratum. I. i. §. 35.

(c) Quae autem animam simul et corpus polluunt, ista sunt; participare daemonum mensae, hoc est immolata degustare. . . . et si quid aliud est quod daemonibus oblatum est. I. iv. §. 36.

(d) Et intelligentias falsae scientiae I. 6. §. 2.

(e) Et agatis gratias largitori omnium Patri, per eum quem posuit regem pacis. I. 4. §. 32. . . . ad hunc quem diximus a Deo destinatum regem pacis accessit. *ibid.* §. 34.

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that *Christ was ordained of God to be the King of Peace*, But one cannot be positive, that herein is any reference to the epistle to the *Hebrews*.

15. “ There is therefore an evident sign, ^{1 John.}
 “ that such things are not spoken from the
 “ true God, when sometimes a lye is mixed
 “ with them: for (f) *there is never any lye*
 “ *in the truth.*” 1 John ii. 21.

He says, the *wedding garment* is the grace of baptism. “ The things whereby that
 “ garment may be defiled are these: If any
 “ one departs from God the Father,——and
 “ receives any other teacher than Christ.
 “ ——These (g) are things, which pollute
 “ the garment of baptism even unto death.”
 Here seems to be an allusion to 1 John v. 16.

17.

16. *Clement* himself says: “ God order- ^{Revela-}
 “ ed, that the whole multitude of mankind ^{tion.}
 “ should be born into this visible world, that
 “ from (h) among them he might choose
 F f f 2 “ friends

(f) In veritate enim nunquam mendacium est. l. iv. §.
 36.

(g) Haec sunt quae usque ad mortem baptismi polluunt indumentum. l. iv. §. 36.

(h) Ex quibus eligeret amicos filio suo, cum quibus laetaretur, et qui eo tanquam sponso, ut dilecta sponsa pararentur. Verum usque ad nuptiarum tempus; quod est praesentia saeculi venturi; statuit. . . . l. ix. §. 3.

“ friends for his Son, with whom he might
 “ rejoyce : and who might be *made ready*
 “ for him, as a beloved *bride for her hus-*
 “ *band.* But till the time of *the marriage is*
 “ *come,* which is when the future world ap-
 “ pears,” and what follows. See *Rev.* xix.
 7. 8. 9. xxi. 2.

*Scriptures
 of the N.T.*

17. Beside these there are some general things, which seem to relate to the scriptures of the New Testament.

Among the ten books, which *Clement*, at the end of the third book of these Recognitions, says he had already sent to *James*, the contents of one of them are thus described: “ The (*i*) eighth is concerning those
 “ words of Our Lord, which seem to con-
 “ tradict one another, but do not, and in
 “ what manner they are to be cleared.” And somewhat of this kind is performed in the preceding part of this very work, as appears from our quotations.

In another place *Peter* is supposed to tell *Clement*, “ How the Apostles were invited
 “ by the priests, and by the High Priest
 “ *Caiaphas* to the temple : and how *James*
 “ the

(*i*) Octavus, de verbis Domini, quae sibi videntur esse contraria, sed non sunt ; et quae fit horum solutio. l. 3. §. 75.

(*k*)
 per se
 minic

“ the Arch-bishop stood upon the top of the
 “ stairs, and (*k*) for seven days one after an-
 “ other, proved out of the Lord’s scriptures
 “ to the whole body of the people, that Je-
 “ sus was the Christ.”

The title of *Archbishop* may be allowed to be added by *Ruffin*, or some other interpolator. But *Dominic Scriptures*, or the *Lord’s Scriptures*, is a term often used by the Christian writers of the second centurie. It must be owned to be out of character to speak of the scriptures of the New Testament in a dispute with *Caiaphas*, at which time none of them were written. But the author here forgot himself. And indeed, it is next to impossible for a writer not to say some things improperly in a work of this kind, and of this length.

However, after all, perhaps hereby are meant only the scriptures of the Old Testament, and this phrase may be judged equivalent to *the written word of God*.

18. It may be now proper to distinguish *Sum of this*
 the passages alleged out of these books of *Re-* *testimonie.*
cognitions, and observe the value of them.

F f f 3

Here

(*k*) Et Jacobus Archiepiscopus stans in summis gradibus, per septem continuos dies universo populo de Scripturis Dominicis assignaverit, quod Jesus esset Christus. l. i. §. 73.

Here are passages of our four Gospels. And one might conclude, that the author owned them all; were it not for a (c) difficulty, which I shall mention by and by: which may render it doubtful, whether he used the four Gospels, or some one Gospel containing in it all these things. The reader will consider, whether this difficulty be of any moment. He seems to own the first epistle of St. *John*, and the book of the *Revelation*. He was well acquainted too with the book of the *Acts of the Apostles*: but how far he owned it, I cannot say. As for the passages relating to St. *Paul's* Epistles, they may be reckoned not very (l) material; or however not sufficient to prove, that they were esteemed by this writer to be of authority. It may be suspected, that the author had no great kindnesse for the Apostle *Paul*: and for that reason made as little use of his Epistles, and of the *Acts of the Apostles*, as might be, though he was well enough acquainted with them.

19. This

(c) See below numb. V. 3. Of this chapter.

(l) Equidem observavi, nec in Clementinis, nec in RECOGNITIONIBUS, quae Apocrypha saepe diximus ab Ebionarum fuisse depravata, Paulum Apostolum citatum inveniri. *Cassiodor. Annot. ad Clementin. Homil. xix. §. 2.*

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19. This author, whoever he be, bears <sup>Facts of
the N. T.</sup> testimonie likewise to many Principal Facts of the New Testament. He gives (*m*) an account of our Lord's Temptation. He mentions (*n*) the choice of the twelve Apostles, and afterwards of other seventy two Disciples. In one place (*o*) he speaks of the twelve Apostles in such a manner, as if he intended to exclude *Paul* from the honour of the Apostleship, and even to deny him the character of a *sufficient and faithful preacher of Christ's word*. Here are also relations (*p*) of the miracles of Our Blessed Lord's ministrie, and of (*q*) his death and

F f f 4 resur-

(*m*) L. iv. §. 34.

(*n*) L. i. §. 40.

(*o*) Propter quod observate cautius, ut nulli doctorum credatis, nisi qui Jacobi fratris Domini ex Hierusalem detulerit testimonium, vel ejus quicumque post ipsum fuerit. Nisi enim quis illuc ascenderit, et ibi fuerit probatus quod sit doctor idoneus, et fidelis ad praedicandum Christi verbum, nisi, inquam, inde detulerit testimonium; recipiendus omnino non est. Sed neque Propheta, neque Apostolus in hoc tempore speretur a vobis aliquis alius praeter nos. Unus enim est verus Propheta, cujus nos duodecim Apostoli verba praedicamus. Ipse enim est annus Dei acceptus, nos Apostolos habens duodecim menses. L. iv. §. 35. This is absolutely to exclude St. *Paul*, who was an Apostle, *neither of men, nor by man*, as he openly professes. Gal. i. 1. See also ver. 11, 12. 17. Ch. ii. 6. Against which claims of St. *Paul* this discourse of our author seems to be designedly levelled; as also possibly against 2 Cor. ii. 16. where St. *Paul* says: *And who is sufficient for these things?* or, as some read: *Who is so sufficient for these things?* vid. Mill. in loc.

(*p*) L. i. §. 6. 7. l. v. §. 10. 11.

(*q*) L. i. §. 41. 42. 43.

*The author
an Ebi-
nite.*

resurrection, and the extraordinarie signs attending those events.

20. To all these things does this writer bear witness. And yet from his sly insinuations and injurious reflexions upon St. Paul it may be suspected, that he was a mere *Ebionite*; the ancients (*q*) assuring us, that this sect of Christians rejected the authority of that Apostle and his epistles. If this be our author's real character, what has been here alleged from this work ought to be considered, as one instance of the advantage, which may be made of the sentiments of those called heretics for confirming the Evangelical Scriptures and Historie, which I hope will appear more fully hereafter.

The Clementin Homilies.

V. Hitherto I have taken no notice of the CLEMENTIN HOMILIES. Nor do I intend a large account of them. But it may be thought improper to omit them entirely. They are nineteen Homilies in *Greek*, published by *Cotelerius*, with two letters prefixed; one of them writ in the name of *Peter*, the other in the name of *Clement* to *James Bishop of Jerusalem*: in which last letter they are

(*r*) *Irenae. L. i. c. 26. al. 25. Orig. Cont. Cels. l. v. p. 274. Euseb. H. E. l. 3. cap. 27.*

are entitled *Clement's Epitome of the Preaching and Travels of Peter*. But it may be questioned, whether one or both these letters do not belong to the Recognitions. *Photius* (s) seems to favor this supposition. At least in his time they were both prefixed to some editions of the Recognitions. The nineteenth Homilie is imperfect at the end. And there is wanting another whole Homilie to compleat the number of twenty.

Le Clerc (t) thinks, that these Clementin Homilies were composed by an *Ebionite* in the second centurie. The learned *Benedictin, Bernard Montfaucon*, is (u) of a quite different opinion, supposing them to have been forged much later; and not to have been mentioned by any author, till long after the age of *St. Athanasius*. This is one of his arguments, that the *Synopsis*, in which the *Clementins* are mentioned, was not composed by that

(s) *Cod.* 112. 113.

(t) Sequuntur ipsa Clementina, . . . opus hominis Ebionitae, qui vixit seculo secundo. *Praef. ad Patres Apost.* §. vi.

(u) Ad haec in apocryphis Novi Testamenti numerantur in *Synopsi Κλημέντια*, seu Homiliae Clementinae, quarum mentionem primo reperimus diu post Athanasii aevum apud Nicephorum Patriarcham. Sunt enim illae opus diversum a Recognitionibus, quarum Origines, Rufinus et alii meminere, licet ejusdem sint argumenti, et ut videtur, postea confictae. In *Synops. Scripturae Admonit. apud Athanasii op.* T. 2. p. 125.

that Father. *Grabe* (x) says, the *Clementins* spoken of in that *Synopsis* are not the same with our Clementin Homilies, which is very probable: Those *Clementins*, mentioned in the *Synopsis*, are not the *Clementin Homilies*, but the *Clementin Epitome* published by *Cotelerius* at the end of the *Homilies*. *Montfaucon's* argument therefore for the late age of the *Synopsis* may be very good, as I think it is: and *Le Clerc* too may judge very rightly about the time of writing the Homilies. For though these *Clementin Homilies* are ancient, they were not cited by the name of *Clementins*. But were either reckoned another edition of the Recognitions, or called the *Travels of Peter*, or the *Disputation of Peter and Appion*. That they were sometimes mentioned by this last title, is probable, as will be shewn presently.

In these Homilies is the same fictitious historie (y) of the separation of *Clement*, and his father and mother and brethren, and their recognising each other, with that in the Recognitions. And there is a great agreement between these two works in several other things,

(x) *Spicilieg.* T. i. p. 287.

(y) *Vid. Homil.* xii. xiii. xiv.

things, though each has some other matters wanting in the other. *Ruffin* (z) says, that there were two editions of the Recognitions. It is likely, that by the other, which he left untranslated, he (a) means these Homilies. He does not say, which is the first edition, though that may be reckoned a point of some moment, if we could determine it. I am apt to think, the Clementin Homilies may be the original, or the first edition, and the Recognitions an improvement of them, because they appear more finished and artificial.

This work bids fair for being the same with that censured by *Eusebe* under the title of *Dialogues of Peter and Appion*. The whole work is prolix, and in the fourth, fifth and sixth Homilies is a historie of *Appion*, and of a dispute with him. It is true, as *Grabe* (b) well observes, this dispute with *Appion* is not managed by *Peter* himself, but by *Clement* in his absence. But I do not know, whether
that

(z) Puto quod non te lateat, Clementis hujus in Graeco, ejusdem operis ἀναγνώσεων, hoc est, Recognitionum, duas editiones haberi, et duo corpora esse librorum, in aliquantibus quidem diversa, in multis tamen ejusdem narrationis. *Ruffin. Praef. ad Gaudentium.*

(a) Vid. *Cave* H. L. P. i. p. 19. in *Clement. Rom.*

(b) *Spic. T. i. p. 273.*

that be sufficient to overthrow this supposition ; since *Clement* is reckoned the disciple of *Peter*, and his most intimate friend. And afterwards, in the seventh Homilie *Appion* is joined with *Simon of Samaria*, and others, who publicly declaim against *Peter* to the multitude. Not to add, that *Clement* relates that whole disputation to *Peter*, and receives his applauses for it.

Nor do I perceive, that *Photius* says any thing to the prejudice of this opinion : He rather confirms it. In his article of the genuine and supposititious writings of *Clement of Rome*, the books mentioned by him are these five : The Constitutions, The Recognitions, under several titles, which, he says, are full of blasphemies against the Son, according to the *Arian* doctrine ; the epistle of *Clement* to the *Corinthians* ; the second epistle, which, he says, is rejected as spurious ; and the long *Disputation, as it is entitled, of Peter and Appion*, which he likewise calls spurious. If hereby he does not mean the *Clementin Homilies*, they are quite omitted, which is not likely.

Nicephorus Callistus, in the fourteenth century, suspected the *Clementins* then in use in the church to be the *Dialogue of Peter and Appion*.

Appion. He had only one difficulty: That (c) Dialogue was censured by *Eusebe*, as not agreeable to the right faith: whereas the book, called the *Clementins* in the time of *Nicephorus*, was highly approved in the church. But the reason of this I take to be very evident: His *Clementins* are the *Clementin Epitome*, as it is called: in which the *Clementin Homilies* are reformed and new modelled. The most obnoxious, or offensive things, as not orthodox, had been left out, and other sentiments were inserted, agreeable to the age of him who reformed them. But still *Nicephorus* suspected those *Clementins* might be the Dialogue of *Peter* and *Appion*. We have much more reason to think the *Clementin Homilies* are the work, which was sometimes spoken of under that title.

If our conjecture is not approved of, we must suppose that Dialogue to be lost, which is the opinion of (d) *Fabricius*.

1. In

(c) Ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὲν τὰ νῦν παρ' ἡμῖν Κλημέντια ὀνομαζόμενα λέγει, οὐ πείθομαι ταῦτα γὰρ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ εὐπαράδεκτα· εἰ δὲ ἕτεραί εἰσι παρὰ ταῦτα, λέγειν ἐκ ἔχω. *Nic. Call. Hist. E. l. 3. c. 18. Vid Testimonia de Clementinis apud Patres Ap.*

(d) Disputatio uberior Petri et Apionis Eusebio memorata et Hieronymo intercidit, falliturque Oudinus, [de Script. Ex. Eccl.

Gospels and
other books
of the N.T.

I. In these Homilies are many passages of the Gospels of St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke*, and divers of them are different from those of the same Gospels in the *Recognitions*. There is very little, which can be certainly said to be taken from St. *Mark's* Gospel, though *Cotelerius* has sometimes put it in the margin. We have these words mentioned as Christ's, after several other, which are in *Matthew* and *Luke*: *Hear, (e) Israel, the Lord your God is one Lord*. Which seems to be a reference to *Mark* xii. 29. He is supposed to refer (f) in several places to *Mark* xii. 24. But I do not see, why he may not as well intend *Matth.* xxii. 29. It is thought likewise, that (g) he refers to *Mark* i. 13. in what he says of our Lord's temptation in the wilderness. The small number of plain references to this Gospel may

Eccl. T. i. cap. 22.] qui eam a Cotelerio sub nomine Clementinorum editam esse sibi persuasit. *J. A. Fabric. Cod. Apeor. N. T. Part. iii. p. 603. Hamb. 8vo. 1719.*

(e) Ἐξή* Ἀκουε Ἰσραὴλ, κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῶν, κύριος εἰς ἑσιν. *Hom. iii. §. 57.*

(f) *Hom. ii. §. 51. iii. §. 50. xix. §. 20.*

(g) Qui misit nos Dominus noster et Propheta, narravit nobis, quemadmodum diabolus quadraginta diebus cum eo collocutus, nihilque contra valens, promiserit se ex suis sectatoribus apostolos ad fraudem faciendam missurum. *Hom. xii. §. 35.* Jam ergo confitetur, per quadraginta dies collocutum tentavisse se. *Hom. ix. §. 2.*

may be accounted for from it's great agreement with the other two Gospels just mentioned. There are several passages out of St. *John's* Gospel. I shall mention some of them presently. But there is scarce any one passage, which can be affirmed to be taken (b) out of St. *Paul's* epistles, or any other book of the New Testament. However in the before mentioned letter of *Clement* (i) to *James*, *Peter* is introduced speaking of his approaching death, *which he had been taught by his Lord and Master Jesus Christ*, much in the same manner as it is mentioned 2 *Pet.* i. 14.

2. The words of Christ are mentioned and *John.* appealed to here, as in the Recognitions; not as writen, but heard by *Peter*, or learned by others from Apostles, or others who had heard our Lord. Thus, *Peter* (k) says: *Our Master declared the faithful poor blessed.* " Wherefore (l) he himself, being a true
" Prophet

(b) *Vid. Coteler. not. in Hom. xix. §. 2. in part cited above page 794.*

(i) §. 2.

(k) Πλήν ὁ διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν πρὸς πάντας ἡμακάρισεν.
Hom. xv. §. 10.

(l) Διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸς ἀληθὴς ὢν προφήτης ἔλεγεν· ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ πύλη τῆς ζωῆς· ὁ δὲ ἐμοῦ εἰσέρχόμενος, εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὴν ζωὴν. . . . καὶ πάλιν τὰ ἐμὰ πρόβατα ἀκούει τῆς ἐμῆς φωνῆς.
Hom. xiii. §. 52.

" Prophet, said : *I am the gate of life : He that enters in by me enters into life.*" John x. 9.— " And again : *My sheep hear my voice.*" Ch. x. 27.— " He (m) said moreover : *I am he, of whom Moses prophesied.*" Ch. v. 46. In another place : " For (n) so the Prophet swore to us saying : *Verily I say unto you, except ye be born again of living water, in the name of Father, Son, Holy Spirit, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.*" This is supposed to be a reference to John iii. 3. 5. But he seems to have joined together several texts.

*The author
an Ebionite.*

3. If this be the work of an *Ebionite*, as is generally (o) supposed, and seems not improbable (p) ; it may be argued, that when the author wrote, the (d) four Gospels were owned

(m) Ἔτι μὴν ἔλεγεν ἐγὼ εἶμι περὶ οὗ Μωϋσῆς προεφήτευσεν' *ibid.*

(n) Οὕτως γὰρ ἡμῖν ᾤμοσεν ὁ προφήτης, εἰπὼν ἅμῃν λέγω, ἐὰν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῇτε ὕδατι ζῶντι, εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς, υἱοῦ, ἁγίου πνεύματος, οὐ μὴ ἐσέλθῃτε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. *Hom. xi. §. 26.*

(o) Vid. *Praefat. Clerici ; et judicium Cotelarii de Clementinis ; apud Patres Apost. Mill. Proleg. 670.*

(p) Vid. *Hom. iii. §. 12. vii. §. 8. xvi. §. 15. et alibi.*

(d) It is generally said, that the *Ebionites* received the Gospel according to St. Matthew only. So Irenaeus. Solo autem eo, quod est secundum Matthaeum evangelio utuntur, et Apostolum Paulum recusant, apostatam eum Legis dicentes.

owned by that sect, or at least by some branch of it. For though there may be some interpolations in these Homilies, there is no reason to think, that any texts have been added. If such a thing had been attempted, we should have had here some passages out of other books of the New Testament, and possibly out of St. *Paul's* Epistles. It is very probable also, that we should have met with some forms of quotation, different from those now used in these Homilies.

I see no way of evading this conclusion, but by supposing that all (E) these texts of

G g g

our

tes. *Iren.* l. i. c. 26. al. 25. or, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, making little account of the rest. So *Eusebe*: 'Ευαγγελίῳ δὲ μόνῳ τῷ καθ' ἑβραῖους λεγομένῳ χρῶμενοι, τῶν λοιπῶν σμικρὸν ἐποίησαν λόγον. *H. E.* l. 3. c. 27. The Gospel according to Matthew alone, which they call according to the Hebrews: and that not entire, but corrupted and mutilated. So *Epiphanius*. *Haer.* 30. §. 3. p. 127. C. §. 13. p. 137. C. This account of their opinion may suffice for the present.

(E) In this work are several things peculiar to St. *Luke*, which are not in any of our three other Gospels. I shall put down references to them, not proposing this however as a compleat collection of texts taken from the Gospel of that Evangelist. Words of *Luke* x. 7. are found in *Homilie* iii. §. 71. *Chap.* x. 18. *Hom.* xix. §. 2. *Ch.* x. 20. *Hom.* ix. §. 22. *Ch.* xi. 52. *Hom.* iii. §. 18. and *Hom.* xviii. §. 16. The parable of the unjust judge *Luke* xviii. 1—17. in *Hom.* xvii. §. 5. Our Lord's visit to *Zaccheus* recorded *Ch.* xix. 1—10. *Hom.* iii. §. 63. *Ch.* xix. 43. *Hom.* iii. §. 15. *Ch.* xxiii. 34. *Hom.* xi. §. 20. And it is reasonable to suppose, that the author used many more things of St. *Luke's*, and St. *John's* Gospel, as well as of St. *Matthew's*, than those

our several Gospels were in some one Gospel used by the *Ebionites*, called the Gospel of *Matthew*, or according to the *Hebrews*, or by whatever other name it was distinguished. However, either way our Evangelical Historie is confirmed.

This observation upon these Homilies may be reckoned applicable likewise to the *Recognitions*.

4. Though neither of these books be of any sacred authority, they may be both of some use: and may deserve a more particular examination, than has been yet given them. I have said as much of them as is consistent with the nature of the present work, which does not allow me to stay too long upon any one piece. And yet I suppose, enough has been said to render it probable, not only that the *Clementin Homilies*, but also that the book of *Recognitions*, which Mr. *Whiston* in our time has recommended to us, *as certainly to be esteemed in the next degree to that of the really sacred books of the New Testament*, is
the

those which we find recited or referred to in this work. But we shall have another opportunity of speaking more distinctly and at large of these things; I mean, when we come to consider the testimonie of those called heretics. For if this be indeed the work of an *Ebionite*, we shall be obliged to take some notice of it once more.

Ch.XXIX.*The* CLEMENTIN EPITOME. 807

the work of an *Ebionite*: and therefore, if there is in it any *Arianism*, it has been interpolated.

VI. After the Recognitions, and the Cle-^{*The Cle-*}
mentin Homilies, there follows in the *Patres*^{*mentin*}
Apostolici a book entitled the CLEMENTIN^{*Epitome.*}
EPITOME: which has been already mentioned, and needs not to be now enlarged upon; it having plain marks of a later age, than that we are concerned with at present. It seems to have been composed out of the Recognitions, and Homilies, and perhaps some other works, leaving out some things, and adding others. *Cotelerius* (*q*) who published it, is much of this opinion. To this *Clementin Epitome*, or some such like piece, the author of the *Synopsis*, ascribed to St. *Athanasius*, refers, when among the Contradicted or Apocryphal books of the New Testament, such as *the Travels of Peter*, *the Gospel according to Thomas*, and some others, he mentions the *Clementins*, out of which

G g g 2 he

(*q*) Ex Homiliis Clementinis, et Recognitionum libris, tum ex expistola Clementis ad Jacobum, Clementis martyrio, atque narratione Ephraimi, composita fuit ista Epitome, per eos homines, qui doctrinae et pietatis suae esse duxerunt, quicquid superfluum, falsum, et periculosum videbatur, id omne aut tollere, aut mutare et corrigere. *Not. i. ad Epitom. Clement.*

(r), he says, *those things have been selected which are true and divinely inspired.* This is probably the book, which Nicephorus likewise speaks of, as being in his time approved by the church.

But in composing of it not only those things were selected which are true and right in the ancient Clementins, but divers other things were added. Thus, in the *Clementin Homilies* (s) Clement says: *I give thanks to God:* in the (t) *Recognitions*, *I give thanks to Almighty God.* But in the parallel place of this *Clementin Epitome* (u) Clement says: *I give thanks to God, even the Father, and to his only begotten Son, and to his Holy Spirit.* The preaching of Barnabas at Rome, which (x) we before observed, as it stands in the *Recognitions*, in this *Epitome* is thus represented: *O Romans, hear, The Son of God is in Judea, promising eternal life to all that are willing: ... be converted therefore, and* (y) *acknow-*

(r) Ἐξ ὧν μεταφράσασαυ ἐκλεγέντα τὰ ἀληθέστερα καὶ θεόπνευστα. apud Athanas. Op. T. 2. p. 102.

(s) Ἡδὴ εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ. Hom. i. §. 21.

(t) Omnipotenti, inquam, Deo gratias ago, l. i. §. 18.

(u) Ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφην, ἥδὴ εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ μενογενεῖ αὐτῷ υἱῷ, καὶ τῷ πνεύματι αὐτῷ τῷ ἁγίῳ. §. 19.

(x) See numb. iv. note (A) p. 781.

(y) Καὶ γινῶτε τὸν ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν ἓνα Θεόν. Clementin. Ep. §. 7.

acknowledge one God in three persons. In the Clementin Homilies Peter says to Clement : *If you would know the things of God, you can learn them from him only.* [that is, from Christ, the true Prophet.] *And his doctrine* (x) *and true preaching is, that there is one God, who made the world.* In the parallel place of the Clementin Epitome Peter says to Clement : *If you would know the things concerning God, you (a) can learn them only from our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ. And it is his doctrine, that there is one God in three persons, who made the whole world.* But we have no occasion to insist any longer on this book.

VII. I have spoken of these three pieces *Remarks upon the Recognitions, &c.* in the order in which they are placed by *Cotelerius* and *Le Clerc* in their editions of them. But, as I before observed, I take the *Clementin Homilies* to be the original work, upon which the *Recognitions* were formed, as the author of the *Clementin Epitome* has borrowed from both.

G g g 3

Thus

(x) Ἐσιν τε αὐτῇ τό τε βέλημα καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς κήρυγμα, ὅτι εἰς Θεὸς, οὗ κόσμος ἔργον. *Hom. ii. §. 12.*

(a) Παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ Θεῷ καὶ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, Ἐσι τε αὐτοῦ τὸ βούλημα, ὅτι εἰς Θεὸς ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν, οὗ ὁ κόσμος ἔργον ὁ πᾶς. *Cl. Ep. §. 22. 23.*

Thus has the name of *Clement*, the companion and fellow-laborer of the Apostle *Paul*, been abused by men of three several denominations and characters; an *Ebionite*, an *Arian*, and a *Catholic*. The hand of an *Ebionite* in the *Clementin Homilies* is, I think, generally acknowledged by learned moderns. And *Epiphanius* speaking of the Travels of *Peter* says, they had been altered and corrupted by the *Ebionites*. It was very natural for him, who supposed those Travels were writ by *Clement*, to say that they were corrupted by the *Ebionites*. For certainly the peculiar principles of that sect could not proceed from a fellow-laborer of the Apostle *Paul*. But that there was no good foundation in the most early antiquity for supposing *Clement* to be the author of any of these pieces, may be concluded from *Eusebe*. I apprehend it must appear probable from our extracts and observations, that the *Clementin Homilies* were composed by an *Ebionite*: and that the main ground and foundation at least of the *Recognitions* also is the work of a man of the same sect.

Some *Arian* must have interpolated the *Recognitions*, as is evident from the character of them in *Photius* beforementioned: and

and from *Ruffin*, who (*b*) says, *that in some places (in his Greek copies of the Recognitions) the doctrine of Eunomius is so plainly put down, that one would believe Eunomius himself was the speaker, teaching, that the Son of God was created out of nothing.* These things, I suppose, could not be writ before the fourth centurie.

That the *Clementin Epitome* was composed by an orthodox Christian, is notorious. However, it may be said in favour of the *Catholics*, that none of them appear to have had any hand in any of these *Clementins* during the first three centuries. It may be added likewise, that it was known, that the *Clementin Epitome* was not an original piece: and that it was not pretended to be really writ by *Clement*, but was allowed to consist of things selected out of some other work or works. This may be concluded from the author of the *Synopsis*. But yet this does not amount to a full vindication of this book, and the title given to it. For though the learned

G g g 4

author

(*b*) In quibus [Recognitionis libris] cum ex persona Petri Apostoli doctrina quasi vere Apostolica in quamplurimis exponatur; in aliquibus ita Eunomii dogma scribitur [al. *inferitur*] ut nihil aliud quam ipse Eunomius disputare credatur, filium Dei creatum ex nullis extantibus asseverans. *De adulteratione libr. Origenis.*

author of the *Synopsis* knew very well, as it seems, that the book of *Clementins*, in use in the church, was not really writ by *Clement*, but was an orthodox modern book, compos'd out of some other more ancient writings, which were not compleatly catholic, yet the generality of people would be induced from the title to take it for the work of *Clement* himself. Nor is the account of this book in the *Synopsis* just and fair: since, as has been shewn, it is not a mere *epitome* of the ancient *Clementins*, but has many additions.

I am far from taking pleasure in mentioning these things. But there is a necessity of distinguishing genuine and supposititious works. And I hope, I may relye upon what is said by that great (c) author *Phile-leutherus Lipsiensis*, speaking of the various Readings of the several copies of the New Testament: *Depend on it: no truth, no matter of fact fairly laid open can ever subvert true religion.* It is possible, that some weak and inconsiderate men may be offended at the detection of forged and supposititious writings: but I think, that truth would suffer much
more

(c) *Remarks upon a Discourse of free thinking.* §. 32.

more in the end by letting them pass without censure.

It cannot be, I think, beside the purpose, to put down in this place a passage of a letter of *Salvian*, Presbyter of *Marseilles* in the fifth centurie, to *Salonius* Bishop (F) of some place in *Gaul*, or near it. *Salvian* wrote a treatise in four books *against covetousnesse*, without putting his name to it. It begins with an epistolarie addresse in this manner. *Timothie the left of the servants of God to the Catholic Church spread over the whole world, Grace be to thee and Peace from God our Father, and from Jesus Christ our Lord with the Holy Spirit. Salonius* dissatisfied about this sent his scruples in a letter to *Salvian*, as appears from what *Salvian* writes by way of answer, which is to this purpose: “ You
“ (d) ask me, my dear *Salonius*, why the
“ name of *Timothie* has been put to some
“ books lately composed and inscribed to the
church

(F) It is not certain, what place he was Bishop of. vid *Cave Hist. L. P. i. p. 457. Stephan. Baluz. not. ad Salvian. p. 374. Paris. 1669. Du Pin Bibliothecae.*

(d) Quaeris a me, ô mi Saloni, caritas mea, cur libellis nuper a quodam hujus temporis homine ad ecclesiam factis, Timothei nomen inscriptum sit. Addis praeterea, quod nisi rationem vocabuli evidenter expressero, dum nominantur Timothei, inter apocrypha sint fortasse reputandi. *Salvian. ep. ix.*

“ church by some man of our time. You
“ add likewise, that unless I clearly shew the
“ reason of this title, since they are called
“ *Timothie's*, perhaps they ought to be rec-
“ koned apocryphal.” *Salvian* then pro-
poses the reasons of this title, still speaking
of the author in the third person, without
owning himself to have had any hand in those
books. I need not now mention particular-
ly those reasons. But I would make a few
remarks upon this passage.

1. We see here the meaning of the word
apocryphal: it is much the same as spurious,
or supposititious. At lest the word was so
used sometimes. A book with the name of
Timothie, which was not his, *Salonius* thought
should be placed in the number of *apocryphal*
books.

2. Here is an instance of the vigilance
and caution of Christians about the books,
which they received as writ by Apostles, or
Apostolical men. The books *against cove-*
tousnesse, named *Timothie's*, are good books.
Nevertheless, since they were not his, *Sal-*
onius was for having them called by the dis-
advantageous title of *apocryphal*, or spurious.
So far from receiving them as canonical, he
would

would not admit them into the rank of ecclesiastical writings. Indeed here is inserted a modest *perhaps*, which, it is likely, he thought necessarie in writing to his master *Salvian*, whose opinion upon the point he did not yet know. Otherwise, he seems to have expressed himself positively enough, and desires a good reason to be given him of the name put to these books.

3. It is a dangerous thing to assume the names of great men. The consequence may be worse than we imagine. *Salvian* did not intend, that these books should be thought to be really written by *Timothie*. He was a man of more virtue, and particularly, of more modestie, than to incur the suspicion of such a design. Nevertheless he acted indiscreetly, and *Salonius* justly demanded a clear reason of this title. Otherwise, these books were to be branded as *apocryphal*, lest they should be supposed by some people, to be really *Timothie's*. We are certainly indebted to the circumspection and care of *Salonius*, and perhaps of others likewise, in this affair. If no notice had been taken at that time of this ambiguous title, these books might have been reputed by many a genuine work of
Timothie,

Timothie, the disciple and fellow-laborer of the Apostle *Paul*. And notwithstanding this notice, they (e) seem to have been published, as his, in the first printed edition of them.

Conclusion
of the se-
cond centu-
rie.

VIII. I now conclude my extracts out of Christian Writers of the second centurie. If any miss some authors, which they expected to have seen mentioned here; it is likely, they will find them in the following centurie.

I do not sum up the several testimonies, which have been already taken. We are as yet collecting evidence, and expect more. As a general review of the whole will be made at the end, that may be sufficient.

It ought to be observed, that we have not here the whole remaining evidence of the first two centuries, because I have hitherto insisted chiefly on *Catholic* authors. I suppose, that the sentiments of those called *Heretics* will give some confirmation to the testimonies of *Catholic Christians*. Possibly some *Heathen* authors may afford us some evidence. *Celsus* the *Epicurean*, who within this period wrote

(e) Vid. *Steph. Baluz. not. ad Salvian. p. 416. et Centuriatores Magdeburg. Cent. v. c. x. pag. 1325.*

wrote professedly against the Christian Religion, will be a considerable witnesse in behalf of the Books, as well as Facts of the New Testament. But these are to be considered hereafter in distinct articles.



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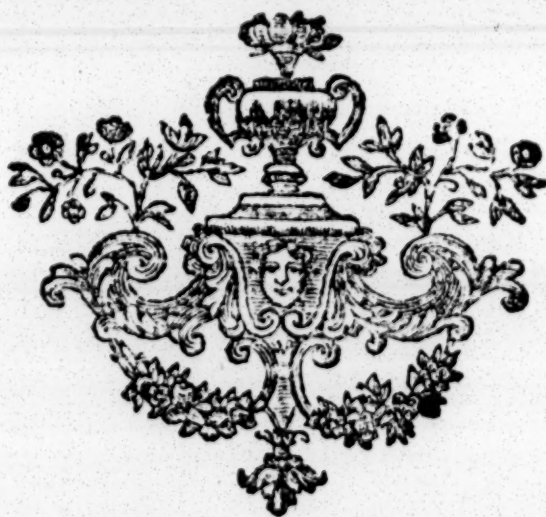
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